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VOL. XIII. No. 41.

## A TAILOR'S PROTEST

AGAINST KORKOWINSKY'S BALTIMORE STRIKE CONDUCT.

To the Readers of the People:—As our craft, the tailors, are having all sorts of trouble in Rochester, we of the same craft, and belonging to the same pure and simple trade union, are having our troubles in Baltimore, caused through the treachery of corrupt leaders, and especially one, who sails under the alias Harry White, his original name being Korkowsky, of New York, National Secretary.

The United Garment Workers' Union, Local No. 7, has about 500 members, composed mostly of good, honest, hard-working men—Hebrews.

The trouble started in this manner: A letter was sent to the District Council of Baltimore city from the New York District Council, stating that they should pay the bill for 10,000 labels which they delivered to Morris & Co. The District Council of Baltimore answered that as they hadn't ordered any labels for Morris & Co., they refused to pay for them.

A committee of five was appointed by the Council to wait on Morris & Co. The committee was Gordon, Miller, Silverman and Kutchinsky.

Morris & Co., overall manufacturers, made a personal agreement with Korkowsky, alias White, chief labor fakir of the said union, that he would furnish the union label (Did we say union label? God forbid!) for all overalls turned out in his factory. Mr. Morris asked Korkowsky, alias White, "Supposing I do not get enough labels from you, how will I procure them?" Mr. White then gave him the cut of the union label, so that he could get them printed himself, any old place, without asking the consent of the District Council, and then this thing calls himself a labor leader and says he represents the only kind of a union that will better the conditions of the working man, when the union would not last twenty-four hours without the assistance of the boss, our enemy.

We tailors are getting our eyes open, through reading The Weekly People, and we have come to the conclusion that the Socialist Labor Party and the S. T. & L. A. trades union are the only true friends we have, regardless of all that is said by such fakirs as Korkowsky, alias White.

Well, to return to the subject again, the District Council appointed a committee of five, composed of Gordon, Miller, Silverman and Kutchinsky, to wait on Mr. Morris, as the said firm had signed an agreement with the local union of overall makers for one year. The committee asked an explanation of how Morris was getting the labels without coming to the District Council. The committee was denied admittance at first. Then they informed Morris if they were not allowed to inspect the place to see if they were the genuine label, they would at once call a strike. The committee was shown the agreement between Morris & Co. and White, which none of the locals knew anything about.

Mr. Sonnerbone, another firm, also signed an agreement with Local Union No. 7, that all his tailors were to work only nine hours from May, 1, 1903, to May, 1904; also, his contractors' employees were to work only nine hours from January 1 to May 1, 1904.

In October, or thereabouts, Mr. S. Sonnerbone called a meeting of all his employees at his factory "for the benefit of his workmen," and informed them that they must work ten hours instead of nine hours. His reason was the competition from the other great clothing centres, such as Boston, St. Louis and the east side of New York. But the majority of these places are only working nine hours.

After the meeting the employees reported back to their respective locals. The locals, as a body, informed Mr. Sonnerbone that he had to live up to the agreement till it expired. Mr. Sonnerbone, after being informed in regard to the action of the local, cut the employees down to one and two days' work a week. His contractors followed suit, his object being to try and starve the workers into submission.

Local No. 7 then notified the executive board of New York to send a committee to settle the difficulty, but they received no answer. Then Local No. 7 appointed a committee to act in conjunction with the committee which was appointed by the District Council to go to New York on Sunday evening to interview the General Executive Board. Mr. Sachs, then president of Local No. 7, also foreman for Mr. Sonnerbone, got up and demanded that he go at once, before their own local executive board had submitted it to their respective local.

When Mr. Sachs could not bulldoze the local executive board, he then made threats that he would go himself, and away he went, although he had no authority to do so in any way, shape or form. By his actions the whole factory on Sharp street was closed down, thereby throwing the workmen out on the streets and making them lose a day's wages.

To the great surprise of the committee that was appointed by Local No. 7, of Baltimore, a committee from the New York executive board arrived. It was composed of Bogatzk and Ruben. They went and interviewed Mr. Sonnerbone and then called a special meeting of the locals and informed them that everything was O. K.; that they could all go back to work.

Shortly after they had left, Mr. Miller, who is the superintendent, informed the employees that they would have to work ten hours per day or accept a reduction, which amounted to from \$1.50 to \$2 a week per man. The employees of Mr. Sonnerbone, at a special meeting, agreed to accept the reduction and work nine hours. Then Mr. Miller informed them that their "brother," Mr. Sonnerbone, demanded they should work ten hours without a reduction. Thereupon the men walked out and notified the District Council to settle the difficulty, if possible. They settled it in the following manner: That the men should work nine and one-half hours a day, although the old agreement has not yet been rescinded by the local.

Now, workmen, as a tailor belonging to Local No. 7, I appeal to you to consider the facts which I have laid before you. Is it not possible for us, as a craft, to construct our organization along the lines of the Social Trade and Labor Alliance, where there is no boss and the officers are only the servants and cannot transact any business without the consent of the rank and file of their respective locals?

A Tailor,  
Baltimore, Md., December 21, 1903.

THAT EX-DEPUTY MARSHAL.

Is Pursued by His Own Fate Which Way So-ever He May Turn.  
(Butte, Mont., American Labor Union Journal.)

IT IS UP TO HOEHN NOW.

Man Who Made False Charges Against the A. L. U. in St. Louis Central Body Given a Chance to Prove Them or Acknowledge That He Lied.

One of the editors of the St. Louis Labor, the official organ of the Labor Press Council, appeared before the Central Trades and Labor Council of that city on the occasion of the visit of Frank Jordan, of the Western Federation of Miners, and denounced the American Labor Union in strongest terms.

He declared the rank and file were misled by a few leaders, and he was particularly venomous in the charge that the A. L. U. had indulged in the practice of organizing dual unions. There is nothing like a plain Anglo-Saxon word to make one's meaning clear. In order that we may not be misunderstood, we desire to say that Mr. Hoehn, in making these charges, lied. We believe he lied deliberately and maliciously.

Crediting him with only enough grey matter to find his way about the streets, he must still have known the facts. He knows that, not only has the A. L. U. not only organized dual unions, but that the A. F. of L. has; and so useful has the Gompers gang become to the capitalists because of this, the Citizens' Alliance is now welcoming the A. F. of L. to the West with open arms. He knows that in Western localities, where the A. L. U. is powerful, the isolated A. F. of L. union receives the hand of complete fellowship, while in the East Gompers has sought to crush every A. L. U. local he could reach, and in one instance he succeeded.

Hoehn, if at all informed, knows that in California the A. F. of L. bodies have tried to prevent the A. L. U. unions (in no sense dual, for they do not organize any such) from a seat in the central bodies. If he is disposed to be fair he can learn that Stuart Reed has been running from one Massachusetts union of the A. L. U. to another to induce them to withdraw, and even offered the cut sole workers an international charter to sever connections. That Gompers' men scabbed on the California miners, and later on the U. B. of R. E.; that the striking A. L. U. paper mill employees of Denver were supplanted by organized A. F. of L. scabs; that the A. L. U. is a referendum organization, and the rank and file, not the leaders, are "boss."

On the other hand, we challenge Mr. Hoehn or any of his ilk to name a single instance where an A. L. U. union has ever scabbed. We challenge him to name a single instance where the A. L. U. has organized a dual union, and, finally, we challenge him to name a single instance where the A. L. U. has not striven to maintain the class interests of all the workers, regardless of their affiliation. It is your turn to "ante," Mr. Hoehn. Substantiate your charges or confess that you lied.

## THE WORLD'S FAIR CITY

Section St. Louis Depicts Working Class Conditions There—Sights That Would Startle Napoleon.

St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 27.—It has been some time since the readers of The People have heard from St. Louis, but we are still doing business at the old stand, dishing out our only stock in trade, the class struggle.

At present this part of the globe is known as "the World's Fair City," because of a money-making scheme that the capitalists have launched here known as the World's Fair, an enterprise which is supposed to be a celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase, i. e., the purchase of a strip of land which was bought from Napoleon Bonaparte by the American capitalist class in 1803. But the working class has not benefited by the purchase. They were being robbed then; they are being robbed now, a hundred years later, only on a larger scale.

If Napoleon could be resurrected and brought out to the World's Fair grounds, he would certainly make startled eyes, for he would behold a sight that would startle him, a sight before which the Pyramids of Egypt pale into insignificance. And who is it that has made such wonderful things possible? The working class. And what have they got out of it? Low wages, high rents, famine prices for the necessities of life, constant fear of losing their jobs by the competition of the unemployed, and the approaching winter promises to bring with it untold suffering. Already the newspapers have announced that there is a greater demand upon the charity organizations for food and clothing than there ever was before, and the winter has just about begun.

With the aid of the reptile press, the commission merchants got a chance to get rid of their pestiferous rabbits and overripe poultry, which they fed to about 30,000 people at the Coliseum on Christmas Day. Add to this that the street car accommodation in the working class district is very bad, and that the unemployed of other parts of the country are flocking into this city in hope of getting a job, only to be disappointed, and you have a faint idea as to the horrible conditions of the working class in the World's Fair City.

We can hear our sentimental friends setting up the old cry, "You Socialists are wrong in calling the capitalist class a robber class." Are we? Let us produce the evidence.

Mrs. James Blair, president of the Board of Lady Managers of the World's Fair and wife of Mr. James Blair, first consular of the World's Fair, recently shocked (?) society by giving a dinner at which the guests appeared in short dresses. According to the newspaper reports, it was a swell affair, and the busybodies asked themselves the question: Where did she get the money from? They soon found out. Shortly after the scarcity-of-clothes affair society was shocked once more by a report that appeared in the newspapers, in which Mr. Roberts, law partner of Mr. Blair, accused Mr. Blair of swindling the heirs of the Blow estate, for which he was the trustee, out of many thousands of dollars. Blair was sick at the time, and while yet in the hospital he was indicted by the Grand Jury for forgery.

Mr. Corwin Spencer, a member of the Board of Directors of the World's Fair, has been accused by the members of the Merchants' Exchange of trying to corner the December wheat.

David R. Francis, president of the World's Fair Commission, is a millionaire. "Where did he get his money from? To make a long story short, he got his where the rest of the capitalists got

theirs: He plundered it from the working class.

Members of the capitalist class try, and do, swindle each other; but as a class they robbed all they got from the working class. The capitalists can rob the workers because they own the machinery of production, and because they own and control the political power, which, in this State, is being looked after by the Republican and Democratic parties.

The middle class, who expected to reap a harvest out of the World's Fair, are already meeting with sore disappointment, and failures among them are of daily occurrence. Once upon a time the middle class in this State cut a big figure in politics, but this being a Democratic State, the large capitalist class made it their business to get control of the Democratic machine. Spasmodic efforts have been made by the middle class to regain the political power through the People's party, Public Ownership party and Allied Third party. But all these movements were only a flash in the pan, and they soon died out, which is but natural, as every political movement is but a reflex of an economic class.

Another class which is an eyesore to the class-conscious workman is the petit middle class—the men with the small custom tailoring shops, the foot-power dressmakers, (of which in this city you will find one in every third block), the two-by-four coal dealers (whose whole stock in trade is not over three baskets of coal and 10 cents' worth of kindling wood), and all the other small skimmers of the working class.

It is amusing to hear these little skimmers rant against the trusts. As a rule, their hatred against the working class is in many cases worse than that of the middle and upper-capitalist classes. Politically, they are up a tree, and are easily taken in by any passing movement that promises them a reduction in taxes, cheap light and a low-priced license for their old, rickety wagon and their third-hand, broken-down, swayback horse.

Closely allied with these are those workmen with middle-class instincts, who have ninety-eight dollars' worth of stock in a wagon shop, or some other industry, and all those workmen who slave during the day and do extra jobs at night in order to scrape together a few extra dollars. As a rule, these men entertain the ridiculous notion that if they ever lose their job they will be able to start up some little repair shop and be successful. All of them labor under the mental delusion that some day they will be counted with the large capitalists. Others are renting out their best room, or rooms, as the case may be, and are committing the criminal act of hording their wife and children in a dark kitchen or damp basement. These people don't want anything to do with the Socialists, for, as they say, Socialism would destroy their individuality, wreck the home and break up the family (sic). It is to laugh!

Oh, ye defenders of capitalism! Stand up, if you can, and show us one feature of the present system that commends it. Here and there one will meet a stray single-taxer, who will ask you the old, worn-out and silly question: "Can a man live without the land?" All year around they cackle single tax and on election day, if they vote at all, they vote for some middle-class reform.

How about that great body of absolute propertyless and toolless wage slaves? Have they no political party to look after their interest? Yes. The Socialist Labor Party, which is making every effort to organize the working class so that they may seize the public powers and become masters of the state. Once in control of the political power, they

can transform capitalist property into working-class property, the same way that feudal property was transformed into capitalist property by the revolutions of the last century. With this end in view, it is carrying on the work of agitation by spreading the doctrine of the Social Revolution (which means the overthrow of the entire capitalist class), through public meetings on the street corners, in halls, and by spreading party literature wherever possible.

There is a Section of the Socialist Labor Party in this city, which, in the last few months, has been very active. Two speakers were sent through the State to plow the ground, and this was followed up by a canvasser for the Party's paper, The People, with good results.

At the last six open-air meetings, held at the corner of Thirteenth and Franklin avenue on Saturday nights, we sold 212 books and got 22 subs. for The Weekly People. At a meeting held at Wallhalla Hall on December 12, with Comrade Veal as the principal speaker, we sold 16 books, collected \$7.11 and had 85 people in the hall, and this on a night when the weather was the worst seen here in many years.

At our open-air meetings we had Vaughn and Knight, from Colorado; Pierson and Cox, from Illinois; Gupp and Bilsbarrow, from the Section, as the speakers. They were assisted by the members, who made themselves busy by selling books and soliciting subs. for The People. All of the members did not attend these meetings. Some spent their time boring from within coffin societies, others were at home making a desperate attempt to puff the Social Revolution out of a cornucopium pipe.

Comrades, fall in line, roll up your sleeves, and get ready for the fray. There will be plenty of work for us all. The capitalist parties have already begun their campaign. The bogus Socialists, under the leadership (?) of Ex-Deputy Sheriff Hoehn, are having trouble in their camp between the followers of the A. F. of L. and the advocates of the A. L. U. Rumor has it that the labor fakirs are going to float a Union Labor Party. All of which means that there will be something doing, and it is up to you to do your share.

We know that in some cases it is impossible to attend every meeting. Baby may get stomach-ache; your wife may get sick, or your mother-in-law may drop in for supper and announce her determination to stay all night, and, in order to avoid trouble, you must stay at home and make a bluff at entertaining her. Your uncle from the country (him with the mortgaged farm) may visit you, and, as he has come in on an excursion ticket, he has not long to stay, which means that you must grind your teeth and take him around. But these things do not happen every day. You could come around at the least twice a month.

A word to the readers of The People before we close. What are you doing to help the cause? Drop a nickel in the hat at the Commune Celebration! That isn't enough. You should join the party. Or help us some other way, such as sending a money donation once in a while. Get your shopmates to subscribe for The People, sell literature and help to swell the crowd at our public meetings. Don't let your German friend, Hans Schneider, pass you off with the old, worn-out gag: "Ick kann nicht English lesson." Sell him some German literature, of which you can get plenty at our headquarters, 307 1-2 Pine street. You tell us that you are a Socialist, but we don't believe it. We are from Missouri, and want to be shown.

Press Committee, Section St. Louis.

## "THE FIRST SOCIALIST MAYOR OF WISCONSIN"

Answering the Charges of the Social Democrats of That State, Accuses Them of Double Dealing and Grafting—Condemns One to Penitentiary.

(Special to The People.)

Milwaukee, Wis., Dec. 29.—The following items, taken from the Milwaukee Sentinel, explain the true state of affairs as they exist in this city and elsewhere within the Social Democratic party:

(Milwaukee Sentinel, Dec. 28, 1903.)

I.

"SUMMON MAYOR BORN.

"Social Democrats Charge Sheboygan Executive With Disloyalty."

"Must Appear Before Committee."

"The new State Central Committee of the Social Democratic party of Wisconsin at its first session yesterday decided to summon before it Mayor Charles H. Born of Sheboygan, against whom charges

have been filed by some of the members of the party in that city, who claim that Mayor Born, who was elected as a Socialist candidate, has been derelict to his party and its principles. The hearing has been set for January 16, and an interesting session is expected if Mayor Born and his supporters, as well as opponents, come down from Sheboygan to contest the charges. If the charges are proven against him, members of the committee declare it will mean his expulsion from the party and that the committee will ask him to resign as Mayor of Sheboygan. The same charges have been voted down by the City Central Committee of Sheboygan and an appeal was taken to the State Board.

"The accusations against Mayor Born embody three counts and are signed by John Meyer, Charles Nietman, John

Russow and Joseph Baumgartner. The three specific charges follow:

"First—That Mayor Born violated the principles of the Social Democratic party by action favorable to a trolley line franchise after the City Central Committee of the party had considered the matter and advised against such action.

"Second—That he reduced the assessment of the Water Works Company, contrary to the advice of the Supervisor of Assessments and the District Attorney, and contrary to Socialistic principles.

"Third—That he appointed to public office as members of the Public Library Board capitalist politicians, among them the owner of a newspaper that was an open enemy of organized labor."

"It is the custom of the Socialist party, before nominating a man for a public

office, to secure his signed resignation, to be handed in at any time that the Central Committee of the party should deem advisable. This step was not taken when Mayor Born, a Spanish-American war veteran and once Republican Mayor of the city, was nominated. When the charges against him were overruled by the City Central Committee of Sheboygan his opponents charged that this was done because every Socialist officeholder in Sheboygan was given a vote on this committee, and it was therefore favorable to the Mayor, from whom many of them had received their appointments."

II.

"SAYS CRANKS RULE

"Sheboygan Mayor Scores Socialists Who Bring Charges."

"Double Dealing Is Alleged."

"Special Dispatch to The Sentinel.

"Sheboygan, Wis., Dec. 29.—Mayor Charles A. Born, when shown the charges preferred against him by the State Central Committee of the Socialist Party, as published in Monday morning's Sentinel, was inclined to treat the affair as a huge joke.

"Under no condition will I appear before the committee to defend any official act of mine," said Mayor Born, "so long as that board contains a member who would be better situated if he were at Waupun than at large. Furthermore, so long as Robert Sattiel, of this city, is on the committee, elected thereon by methods which Socialists condemn, I shall have nothing to do with it, and most certainly not in star chamber proceedings.

"Mr. Sattiel is responsible for the imperative mandate not having been signed by the local Socialist candidates. He came to me himself at the time he pretended to be my friend, and said that, in his opinion, the mandate as outlined was too strong, and would put the officials elected at the mercy of any designing committeeman, and upon his suggestion the matter was dropped.

"The leaders of the Socialist party in this State are of the same type as those of the Prohibition party. The temperance movement was popular, and fast gaining ground, until a number of cranks got into control. The Socialist party is undergoing the same spasms. Whether it will survive I do not pretend to know, but I feel satisfied that many of the principles contended for by that party will live on probably in some other party where they will lose the stigma that now attaches to them by virtue of the connection with the Socialist party of persons who do not recognize the ethics of Socialism, but are members of the party out of personal spite against the older parties, or because they see therein an opportunity to work their political graft."

When I accused Mayor Born of the very acts he is now charged with by members of his own party I was denounced as a vilifier, slanderer and a De Leonite. This was only six months ago, and now the stench of corruption has become so strong that even their own members cannot bear it any longer. When the speakers of the Socialist Labor Party claimed that the motives of the so-called "leaders" of the Social Democrats were anything but honest, they were called liars; and now they are told that these leaders are "grifters," and ought to be in the penitentiary at Waupun, by one of their "shining lights," the "first Socialist Mayor" in Wisconsin. Truly when thieves quarrel the public learns the truth, and we hope that a few more of these "jokes" will be exposed before the next State campaign, so that we may be able to prove that "by their deeds ye shall know them."

We are firmly convinced that this is the beginning of the end, and if the comrades and friends of the Socialist Labor Party in Wisconsin will awake from their lethargy and assist those who are now straining every muscle to keep the name of our party clean and unsullied, as well as trying to educate and agitate, we will soon have every honest member of the S. D. P. within our ranks, and when once this henchman of capitalism, i. e., the S. D. P., has been annihilated, we can then devote our energy exclusively to capitalism, and as it is easier to fight one organization than two our efforts will be crowned with success all the sooner.

Comrades, these are stern facts, and it is time we went to work and exposed the rottenness of the S. D. P. While it is true we have done all we thought we could, still the writer is firmly convinced that with revival of the old enthusiasm and energy, augmented with an increased experience, both in speaking and campaigning, we ought to show a record that every worker can be proud of. With a happy New Year to all the comrades, as well as The People, I remain,

Yours fraternally,  
Frank R. Wilke.

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## BOYCOTT EPIDEMIC

IN 'FRISCO CONTINUES ON THE INCREASE.

(Special to The People.)

San Francisco, Dec. 28.—The boycott epidemic continues on the increase in San Francisco. The shrill cry of the union picket rises clear above the noise of traffic and general excitement of the holiday season. The grotesque representations of Santa Claus have disappeared from the streets, and the sidewalk vendors of mechanical toys are a little less strenuous, now that Christmas is past; but the boycotters have not subsided, indeed they have redoubled their efforts. Drawn up six or eight strong before several of the leading cloak houses of the city, they continually lift up their voices in that monotonous refrain. But the new restaurant boycott outdoes all the rest. Johnson's restaurant, the old enemy of the unions, is under the ban again.

The trouble between the "Restaurant Keepers' Association" and the "Cooks' and Waiters' Union" was patched up last week. The compromise resulted in the withdrawal from the Association of several prominent restaurant keepers, among them Johnson, the proprietor of the most popular cheap restaurant in town.

At the close of the late "lockout" Johnson recommenced business as an "open house" and placarded his windows with grandiloquent announcements, defying the unions and conciliating the public. The result of his policy was one of the liveliest boycotts ever known in this city. Men and women pickets actually thronged the sidewalk in front of his house. The sympathetic public turned out to give them moral support, and for several evenings the street was simply impassable in that vicinity. Johnson could get no help from the Mayor or police, and was obliged to hire special officers to protect his help and his patrons as well. Finally, when his window placards grew somewhat uncomplimentary to the city authorities, a force of police was sent to his relief and at present the evening mob is less conspicuous in that neighborhood.

But the most important event that has lately occurred in labor circles here is the triumph of Michael Casey at the meeting of the San Francisco local of the "International Brotherhood of Teamsters," held at the Alhambra Theatre on the 20th inst. The meeting was called for the purpose of voting upon a constitution lately issued by the International body. The document contained a proviso that all officers of the "Brotherhood" should be working teamsters. This seemed to be aimed directly at Casey, who, though president of the local, is also president of the Board of Public Works in this city and can hardly be called a working teamster.

The teamsters gathered in full force and the fight was a warm one. Three hundred and seventy-eight votes out of 562 cast were against adopting the constitution. This is regarded by some as practically a secession from the "Brotherhood," and there is talk of forming a new local in sympathy with the international organization.

Casey's next move will be worth noting. He is by far the most interesting "labor leader" San Francisco has produced, but, having lost his standing in the U. L. P., he is likely to lose his high position in the city soon; and without great effort on the part of himself and his confederates, his mighty name will sink in oblivion. That would be a loss to students of the new system of capitalist-trades unionism.

## SECTION LYNN'S OFFICERS.

At a regular meeting of Section Lynn, held on Sunday, December 20, the following officers were elected for the ensuing term of six months: Organizer, Frank B. Jordan; recording secretary, David Josephs; financial secretary, Eliot C. Harding; treasurer, David F. Richardson; literary agent, James J. Dalom; assistant literary agent, John P. Oldham; press committee, Michael Tracey, John W. Ryan and John F. Coyle; grievance committee, John H. Hagan, De Witt C. Dow, David F. Richardson; agitation committee, David Shaw, John W. Ryan, John R. Oldham; auditors, F. B. Jordan, M. Tracey, Michael Crotty.

## BRANCH TROY'S OFFICERS.

Branch Troy, S. L. P., at a meeting held at headquarters, 351 River street, Troy, N. Y., December 27, elected the following officers: Organizer, Lawrence A. Boland; financial secretary, T. A. De Vane; recording secretary, Frank E. Passano; treasurer, Hermann Huttman; literary agent, P. A. De Lee; auditing committee, T. A. De Vane, S. P. Shaw, R. Johnson; sergeant-at-arms, Adam Wildermuth.

Senator Newlands believes the tariff should be the Democratic battle cry next campaign! The principle underlying this must be: "Any old thing goes."



# - THE DRESDEN CONGRESS -

For reasons, scores of times enlarged upon in these columns, the Social Democracy of Germany has ceased to be a pace-setter for the Socialist Movement of the world. For the reasons so often analyzed, the Socialist Movement of Germany has been compelled to deflect its course, and face and solve the issues left unfaced and unsolved by the nation's bourgeois. This, notwithstanding, ay, for that very reason, the acts of the German Social Democracy are well worth the close attention of the militant Socialism of this country. As the native land of Marx, Engels and Lassalle, and that in which the Socialist Movement first took tangible shape nearly forty years ago, the forced evolution, that that Socialist Movement has undergone in Germany, is of more than historic interest. The late Dresden Congress typifies the leading features of that evolutionary process, which the sooner they are generally understood the better.

## BIRD'S EYE VIEW.

The Dresden Congress met on September 13 and adjourned on September 20. Altogether it was in session eight days. Subtracting from these eight days the first day and a half, spent in general oratory, in which foreign "visiting delegations" took a part, and about a day given to minor matters, such as Bebel's complaints against the "Vorwärts," the Polish question, parliamentary activity, the Amsterdam Congress, etc., there were about five days given to the real issues before the body. These were two, at least they were presented under distinct heads and culminated in the adoption of two distinct resolutions—a resolution on the activity of party members in the bourgeois press, and one on the tactics of the party. In point of fact, the two issues were one, the first only serving as a prelude to the second. The issue underlying both was a practical one of tactics. On this subject the debate consumed all the actual working time of the Congress.

A bird's-eye view of the debate presents a paradox: Feeling ran high. Hard words were exchanged. Indeed, it has been said by those who should know that never was a German Social Democratic Congress so heated. And yet not a disputant on either side, none of any account at any rate, but declared that "no time was the party so united as it is now." As if this were not enough of a paradox, the resolutions were adopted with virtual unanimity (283 to 24 on the first, 283 to 11 on the second). Were these men children, who quarrelled over nothing? Or were they hysterical school girls, who scratch one another's eyes and as readily kiss and make up? They were none of that. Then, there was an issue? Indeed, there was, and a serious one. To complete the series of paradoxes in the bird's-eye view of the debate, the serene of the disputants, the most good-natured, those who, with greatest moderation, and dignity withal, retorted to the vehement onslaughts against them, were that dominantly trivial minority. Indeed, whatever brilliancy of satire, of wit or ridicule flashed through the Congress Hall, proceeded from that quarter. And well it might. All the facts, hence all the arguments applicable to the situation, were with that side. They knew themselves victors. Hence, why ill-nature? Like a traveler, overtaken by a sudden squall on the road, good-naturedly, though perhaps critically, watches the storm's excesses, taking only simple measures to keep the wet off, and knowing the storm is bound to abate, when he will again regain the sunny, and tranquilly resume the even tenor of his route, so did the nominally trivial minority at the Dresden Congress deport itself. It revealed the aplomb of habitual, certain and inevitable ascendancy. What with the superficial press reports and interested journalistic commentaries, the impression conveyed of the Congress is exactly the opposite. To the extent that this false impression prevails the instruction conveyed by the Dresden Congress is lost.

## HISTORY OF TACTICS.

The history of the German Social Democracy on the party's tactics, sketched step by step by the nominal minority, and left uncontradicted by the nominal majority, has traversed the following leading episodes:

—At an early date, on the motion of Liebknecht, the small Socialist delegation in the Reichstag decided upon the tactics they were to adopt. These were to utilize every opportunity in that body to assert their negative and protesting principles, and to keep strictly aloof from parliamentary transactions, proper. And the point was emphasized by Liebknecht in a pamphlet in which the rule of conduct was explained thus:

"This negative position may not be given up, else the party would give up its principle. Under no circumstances, and on no field may the Social Democracy negotiate with the enemy. Negotiations can be conducted only where there is a common ground to stand on. To negotiate with forces, that are hostile on the matters of principle, means to sacrifice principle itself. Principle is indivisible. It is either wholly kept, or wholly sacrificed. The slightest concession on matters of principle infers the

abandonment of principle. Whosoever parliamentarizes log-rolls; who log-rolls is bound by purchase."—This indisputable norm for the parliamentary posture of the Socialist Revolution, once accepted, was later given up, despite the cry of "Treason!" and "Parliamentary Quagmire!" The party since pursued the course of parliamentarizing with its opponent.

—In 1875, when the then two Socialist wings of Germany—the Marxists and the Lassalleans—were about to unite, Marx issued a circular letter, intended especially for some of the leaders of the Marxist wing. In this letter Marx analyzed and condemns the programme, under which the fusion was to be perfected, as "bourgeois," "objectionable," "demoralizing," a "dickering in principles," a proof that "Socialist ideas were only skin-deep with the party"; and he warned that "everybody knows how pleased workmen are with the fact of a union, but you are mistaken if you believe that this momentary success is not bought too dearly." And Bebel, then in prison for his revolutionary attitude, issued from his confinement a letter of protest declaring "he could not join in the fusion, and when his nine months were out, he would raise the banner against it."—The warning was disregarded: the bourgeois-labeled programme was adopted: the fusion was perfected: the threatened revolt never set in.

—In 1884, energetic protests were raised against the representation of the Social Democratic Reichstag delegation in the "Senjoren Konvent"—a convention of "captains of industry," without official functions or power, and intended for the interchange of views on Labor and kindred matters. Participation in such bodies was pronounced "a violation of the revolutionary principle," "a disgrace to the dignity of the freeman," "a comedy," "a diplomatic flank-move looking to reconciliation," "a fly in the ointment of the late election successes," and the "Proletariat was to awake and winnow the chaff from the wheat." Bebel, reporting the Frankfurt meeting that started the protest, wrote of it: "It is not true that the meeting consisted of furious Anarchists. It consisted of the best and oldest comrades, and was animated by the best of spirits."—"Since then," said Vollmar in Dresden, "we have grown accustomed to the matter; much is not to be gained from these conventions, but they are valuable sources of information."

—At the time of the Cologne Congress a bitter debate took place on the subject of the so-called equitable labor or employment bureaus, which had just started, especially in South Germany, and at the first convention of which bourgeois and Social Democratic representatives took a part. It was again Bebel who led the assault. He declared such acts as "prancing in knee-breeches" and a "lowering of tone"; to appeal to the "general philanthropy of the bourgeois classes" was in "direct opposition to the idea of the class-struggle."—Two years later, Bebel and other Social Democrats joined just such a convention of bourgeois philanthropists in Zurich; and their participation in such conventions has since continued in regular order, as a matter of course.

—The attitude of subservience to the Government, struck by the Trades Unions, notably by the compositors, was at first justified by the party as an attitude that "dulled the edge of the class struggle." It was ridiculed. The Typographical Union was dubbed "His Prussian Majesty's Union."—The party gave up that policy.

—The caucuses of the Reichstag delegation of the party are frequently convulsed with heated debates on the attitude to be taken on the bourgeois reform methods, introduced in the Reichstag, especially with regard to the deceptive, but seemingly favorable, "labor" bills. At such caucuses the argument has been made: "It is quite impossible for us to abandon our position and vote for these bills. Who of us would dare appear after that at the labor meetings? The very edge of our agitation and the traditional posture of the party would be dulled and sacrificed."—The bills were regularly supported.

—The election laws for the Prussian Landtag elections are such that, to participate in them, the Social Democracy would have to enter into deals with bourgeois parties. At the Cologne Congress of 1893 the question of going into the Prussian Landtag elections was raised and thunderingly voted down. Bebel again led. "A compromise with the hostile parties," he declared, "cannot choose but lead to the demoralization of the party." The proposed step was pronounced "a compromise in the worst sense of the word," and it was laid down, as a matter of duty, that the party was to abstain from the suffrage at the Landtag elections.—At the Mainz Congress of 1900, Bebel himself ceased to see any objection to the "cattle-trade" (Kuhhandel); he declared he had changed his views; he regretted the strong expressions used at Cologne; and he announced a new principle: "Compromise is an agreement with another for mutual support, to the end of reaching that which cannot be reached with unaided effort. Why raise such a howl against that?"—The Cologne decision was, accordingly, formally reversed, and the new principle was pursued.

—The election laws for municipal elections are open to objections similar to those for the Landtag. The electorate is divided in property classes. In 1884, the Berlin party adopted a resolution against participation in the election for municipal officers on the ground that:

"Participation in class elections is a violation of the party's platform, and it likewise promotes the development of the workingman's party. On the contrary, it promotes the opportunities for self-seeking politicians, and this has a corrupting influence."—The Berlin party shortly after gave up its stand. Closing the argument on this head, and alluding to the anti-Vice-Presidential arguments, which condemned the idea of Social Democrats putting on knee-breeches on Court occasions, as required of the Vice-Presidents, Vollmar remarked:

"The municipal officers of Berlin proudly carry a chain of office from which hangs the image of Frederick William III. Think of it! Knee-breeches will burn one's thighs; but the royal image may be carried on the breast!"

There still remains an episode, the crowning one of all. But this is not yet the place to cite it. This, however, is a place of sufficient elevation where to pause for a moment, look backward and take a preliminary comprehensive view of the lay of the land.

For one thing, sufficient facts have been cited to warrant the summary with which Vollmar introduced his sketch of the history of the party's tactics, and to quote it here as one of the characterizations of the situation. He said:

"The thought has been recently expressed that it was a pity we had not yet a 'History of Tactics.' It might be rather called a 'History of the Stagnation of the German Social Democracy.' It would be in no small degree interesting to learn from it what all has been condemned among us as 'watering,' as 'repudiation of principles,' as 'violation of traditions,' as 'abandonment of the principle of the class-struggle,' etc.; how, regularly after each such sentence, the Social Democracy quaffed down the ingredients of the alleged poisoned chalice, and liked them; and how, thereupon, the old 'poison' label was speedily transferred to some new cup."

For another thing, the outlines of two conflicting streams are plain in sight. Leaping forward for an instant, to the field of the Dresden Congress, the two groups may be described by their leading exponents—Bebel and Vollmar.

## VON VOLLMAR.

Whether Vollmar is equipped with the requisite erudition to consciously steer his course by the constellations that preside over the German socio-political waters, and sails "by chart," aware of the currents he navigates and the soundings of the shallows, or whether only instinct guides him, matters not. Vollmar is a Socialist—in the sense that he foresees the ultimate breakdown of capitalism, and is ready enthusiastically to lend a helping hand towards the raising of a Socialist Republic, as the only ultimate goal yet in sight worthy of man's efforts. But he is not a revolutionary Socialist. Whatever else Vollmar might be elsewhere, he can be none in Germany. Intelligent or sentient, he has adapted his conduct to local exigencies. In a country still so feudal that the organic law of the land can be changed only with the consent of the Kaiser; in a country still so far back politically that institutional improvements have, as of olden days, to be virtually outcropped from above; in a country still so politically primitive that, by constitutional enactment, the Monarch's sword can outweigh in the balance the combined will of the people and parliament;—in such a country there are still tall and wide mountain ranges to be tunneled by the drill of bourgeois reform, and of useful reform generally. There the season for the Social Revolution is not yet.

With guile, or innocent purpose, the effort is often made to blur "Revolution" into "Reform," and "Reform" into "Revolution"; and, with innocent purpose, or with guile, the attempt is not infrequently made to stampee the argument into an acceptance of the blur by holding up "cataclysm" as the only alternative. Dismissing the "argument" of cataclysm as unbecoming, and the "cataclysmic threat" for the mere phraseology that it is, the point of contact between "Reform" and "Revolution"—meaning by the latter the Socialist Revolution—lies too far back to here merit attention. They are "horses of different color," or, dropping slang, children of different parents. The line that separates them is sharp. "Reform" infers a common ground between contestants; "Revolution" the absence of such ground. The two terms are mutually repellent in social science. Socialism is nothing if not Revolution. There is no common ground between the contestants. With Socialism, on the one hand, and the system of private ownership in natural and social opportunities, or class-rule, on the other, each stands on ground that is mutually abhorrent. The two can not deal, barter or log-roll. They can meet only to clash, and for extermination.

It does not alter the principle here laid down that, at a time, in England, and even now, in Germany, bona fide reform could and can be wrung from the possessing classes for the working

class. On the contrary. Where such reforms are possible, they are so just because a true Socialist Movement is not yet possible,—a feudal class, still mighty, though crowded by its upstart rival, the capitalist, and just because of being thus crowded, will lend a helping hand to what instinctively it feels to be its rising rival's predestined slayer. SO LONG AS SUCH REFORMS ARE TO BE GAINED, THEY SHOULD BE STRIVEN FOR; but so long as they are to be gained, the struggle is not yet between Socialism and private property in natural and social opportunities, that is, between two foes standing upon irreconcilable ground: the struggle still is between capitalism and feudalism, that is, foes standing on the common ground of class-rule: the reign of the bourgeois is not yet absolute: the path is still barred by feudalism: the season is not yet for a Socialist Movement. Per contra, the moment feudalism is swept aside, and capitalism wields the scepter untrammelled, as here in America,—from that moment the ground is ready for Revolution to step on; what is more, from that moment Reform becomes a snare and a delusion. It virtually is no more to be had. As shown in the second of the "Two Pages from Roman History," reform then becomes palliatives, and these are but palliatives of wrong; or it is sops, and these are banana-peels under foot—in either case destructive of the revolutionary fibre and directness, a bane to its alleged beneficiaries. Where the thought of "Socialism" rises in conjunction with that of "Reform," or of "Reform" with that of "Socialism," the Socialism can only be, either—as is happening here in America in the instance of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic party—a manifestation of puerility doused with peevish schemes; or—as one time in England, and now in Germany,—a latter-day adaptation of the "Christianity" of Clovis, that is, an aspiration after an ideal, too ideal, however, to be seriously contemplated, and, consequently, decorously put away in a niche, to be revered, while serious, practical thought is turned to the hard, practical reality.

The group in the German Social Democracy, of which Vollmar is the leading exponent, sentient or intelligent, strained for the only field of vantage that the backward conditions of the land provided. Seeing the absence of the field for revolutionary Socialism to deploy on, it strained and carried the Movement to take its stand on the field of radical bourgeoisism, that is, of Reform. With the common ground among the contestants, implied in Reform, the Socialist Vollmar parliamentarizes—with all that that implies. Nor does such conduct at all infer intellectual obliquity. Nothing more natural, ay, unavoidable, than that a belated radical bourgeois movement in our days should be strongly flavored with revolutionary Socialist feeling and terminology,—least of all when, as in this instance, it started Socialist. Accordingly, as sketched above, the early and wise warning of Marx against fusion at Gotha was reverently niched; Liebknecht's masterly apophthegm on the parliamentary attitude of the Socialist Movement was decorously shelved, by himself included; and one after another, despite opposition and condemnation, those tactics were successively taken up and enthusiastically pursued, which denoted the gradual placing of itself by the German Social Democracy on that common ground of battle where the contestants may, are expected to and must barter.

## BEBEL.

The struggler with the Vollmar stream is the stream typified by Bebel. Bebel's Dresden speeches which have thrilled the hearts of the militant Socialists the world over, and will be translated for the readers of The People as a type of the revolutionary lyric—vigorous, unsparring, elevating, uncompromising, and pure—is the most fervid of the series that has yet proceeded from his side of the house, at the various stages in the above-recorded evolutionary process of his party's tactics. "All the world loves a lover." Infinitely more sympathetic than the practical Vollmar, Bebel, it must, nevertheless, be conceded, has failed to subordinate his ideal to the circumstances. His fires proved proof against facts. Though banked, they never have been extinguished. Always heating the mass, that, in the end, ever prevailed against them, and thus ever imparting a glamor to his party, they periodically would break and leap forth in tongues of lambent flame,—soul-stirring, warning. But their language could be none other than that of protest. Periodically, when a new shoot downward was shot in its course by the current that Bebel was constrained to drift with, a new shock was felt. Ever at such recurring periods, the reminiscences and ideals of his own and his party's youth would re-assert themselves: they would then win the upper hand of their latest enforced silence, as they now did at Dresden, and carry the day; and then—as happened regularly before, and poetically expressed by Vollmar—the ingredients of the alleged poisoned chalice would be quaffed anew and found palatable, and the "poison" label transferred to some fresh cup; the Bebel-swollen flood of the nominal majority would again recede; the Vollmar ebb of the nominal minority would return and resume control.

## A THIRD ELEMENT.

None who ever studied history closely, none who ever watched the actions of large masses of men, will fail to scent from the preceding sketch the existence of a third, not stream, but body, besides the two leading streams above outlined. To the flux and reflux of such streams of human action, there must be a third—not stream, because it has no life of its own, but—group, or pool; a group, not made up of the shadings of the two main streams, but of distinct physiognomy, a physiognomy sui generis. Indeed, there is such a group. Devoid of convictions, devoid of the practical sense of a Vollmar that tends to solidify ideals, devoid of the moral and mental exaltation of a Bebel that tends to idealize the practical, the group in question consists of theoreticians, who riot in theory. Their delight is to turn out such merchandise according as occasion and the most contradictory, at that, may demand, in phrases symmetrically rounded. The type of this group is Kautsky; its feature "to run with the hares and bark with the hounds." Here is the place to cite that latest and crowning episode, merely referred to above, in the tactical history of the German Social Democracy as furnished by the Dresden Congress itself, and from the elevation of which the eye will be enabled to embrace a full view of the lay of the land.

## MILLERANDISM.

The Socialist Movement of France held its breath in amazement when, in 1898, Millerand, a member of one of its organizations, accepted a cabinet portfolio at the hands of the bourgeois government, and took his seat in that executive body, beside General Gallifet, the butcher of the Commune. Whatever hope against hope may have at first lingered in the minds of the serious French Socialists was soon dispelled by Millerand's placid continuance in the cabinet, after the orders issued that provoked the military butcheries of the striking workmen at Chalons and that upheld the military butcheries of the striking workmen at Martinique. That which, based upon a long uninterrupted series of facts, theory had before then established, was but confirmed in the instance of Millerand. It is no longer a matter open to discussion. The Socialist Revolution has no common ground with class-rule. Despite the bugaboos of "Clericalism!" and "The Republic in Danger!" periodically gotten up by the French Bourgeoisie, France, though not advanced to the capitalist height of America, is well out of her feudal-swallowing clothes. There, like here, "Reform" is now a snare and a delusion; there, like here, the ground is solid for the Revolutionary Movement to step on, and proceed from: to tread the path of barter, as Millerand did, is there, as it is here, when not visionary, corrupt. The Millerand barter rent the French Socialist Movement in twain. The earnest Socialists, headed by Guesdes, repudiated Millerand; the Reformers, headed by Juarez, upheld him. The International Socialist Congress met when the discussion was at its height. The two factions (if the Juarez element can, except in scorn, be termed a Socialist faction) rushed into the hall, the latter seeking international justification, the former the international condemnation of the theory, to say nothing of the practical betrayals of Socialism. It is enough of a commentary on the structure of these international Socialist congresses that such an issue could at all rise in their midst. It did. It was the one issue before the body; and it took shape in a resolution, since known to fame as the

## "KAUTSKY RESOLUTION."

The "Kautsky Resolution" is a product typical of its source. It is a panel, painfully put together, of symmetrically rounded theses and antitheses on the ministerial question, in which "the head eats up the tail." This feature of the resolutions is so marked that—despite the closing sentence distinctly enough gives up the class struggle by conceiving the possibility of "impartiality on the part of a capitalist government in the struggles between Capital and Labor"—they gave rise to a veritable controversy as to whether or not they favored Millerandism. The Dresden Congress shed, however, such a light upon the matter that further controversy is now more than ever vain, and in the light that is shed, the crowning episode, so far, in the consistent history of the German Social Democracy, is fully illumined.

In the course of his speech, Auer, the gifted lieutenant of Vollmar, deliberately let fall a pregnant scrap of information. Said he:

"I went along as a delegate to the International Congress at Paris. It devolved upon me to speak in the name of the German delegation. And to what motion did I speak? To the Kautsky resolution on the ministerial question. Kautsky and others had framed the resolution. It contains not a syllable of my own. I do not tackle such dangerous experiments, when I know there are comrades who are better hands at such matters. I SPOKE AMID THE PLAUDITS OF ALL OUR DELEGATES, OF KAUTSKY INCLUDED, who was the father of the whole affair, and who had furnished me with the line of argument for my speech. Kautsky was then delighted to see 'Old Auer' again pulled through so well. There was not one among us German delegates in

Paris who, at that time, took upon this question the stand that, for reasons which I care not here to enlarge upon, shaped itself later. And it has come to the pass that now a fellow is actually looked upon as a very questionable comrade who does not consider the ministry of Millerand an act of turpitude, and does not see in Juarez a man, who, as a result of his revisionist inclinations, means to lead the party away from class-consciousness and into the bourgeois camp. Gentlemen, THAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN STATED AT THE TIME, IN PARIS. In that case I would, probably, not have spoken, and the charge could not now be made. If Kautsky was then of an opinion different from that he holds to-day, he surely has no right to blame those who to-day are still of the same opinion as he was then."

And Kautsky, who spoke after, taken off his guard, left these statements of fact uncontradicted, and even supplemented them with the information:

"Auer said in Paris: 'True enough, a Millerand case has not yet arisen among us (in Germany): we are not yet so far; but I hope we may reach the point at the earliest day possible.'!"

Thus, the sory spectre of the traitor Millerand stalking across the floor of the International Congress at Paris, and the very window-panes of the hall still rattling to the musketry that butchered the workers of Chalons and Martinique, the "Kautsky Resolution" was introduced, was recommended by such language and was carried, the German delegation voting solid for it, and—typical of the modern international status, and to the lasting glory of the Socialist Labor Party, the rank and file of its delegation forced the wabbly Lucien Saniel to stand straight, and cast the solid vote of the delegation against it.

Was it an accident that Auer was chosen by Kautsky to make the speech of the German delegation at Paris? "Do you imagine," asked Kautsky at Dresden, affecting horror, "that I approved these utterances of Auer's?" If he disapproved, yet held he his tongue there where, as Auer well observed, disapproval should have been expressed, and he indulged in applause only. But nineteenth of the European Movement is either caught in the identical trammels of belated and now necessary radical bourgeois reform, that the German Social Democracy is caught in; or its representatives, as happened with the English Social Democratic Federation, were stage-strutters, seeking notoriety. At the Paris Congress an anti-Millerandist attitude was decidedly unpopular; there Kautsky was "running with the hares." Subsequently, when the reaction set in; when the stand taken by the trivial minority at Paris began to operate; when the baneful effect of the "Kautsky Resolutions" upon the French Socialist movement was realized, then followed a series of excuses, dodgings and hedgings, to the extent that "Iskra," the organ of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, wittily satirized both author and resolutions as the "Kaouthouche (India rubber) resolutions." The situation in Germany was, moreover, aggravated by the top-heavy and irritating pranks of Bernstein—a gentleman whose measure The People took at an early date and exposed—and of other "free speech" intellectuals of his ilk. The fires of Bebel (who was absent from Paris) long dormant, leaped forth again in tongues of flame, until the landmark of Dresden was reached and passed, with Kautsky again to the fore, now "barking with the hounds."

## VIRTUAL UNANIMITY DESPITE SEEMING DIFFERENCES.

If the Marxian-Morgan law of social evolution holds good; if the attestation of their soundness—as recorded in the sketch of the history of the German Social Democracy on the party's tactics, culminating with the "Kautsky Resolutions" and Auer's speech hoping for a German Millerand, both enthusiastically supported by the German delegation at Paris, together with the document, published last year in these columns, with which the Social Democratic Reichstag delegation opened the late campaign—points to any conclusion, then the conclusion is that the Dresden Congress turned no new leaf, and could turn none, but, *mutatis mutandis*, rehearsed a scene often and periodically rehearsed before in the party's course—the scene of the revolutionary spirit of Socialism being conjured up by Bebel at periodically arising new departures, then melting away again, and the resumption of the practical course. Some essentially rotten branches of the brigade of "free thought" intellectuals may have been cracked in the Dresden storm and be sawed off to be east away;—that has happened before. The vanities that prompted in some breasts the panting after the hollow honor of a vice-presidency, even if it had to be logrolled for, may have been, probably were, cauterized—even serious movements have a way of occasionally squelching trifles with a great display of strength, in order to pursue their prescribed path with all the freer hand. All this may be. But the principle, now christened "revisionism" and which, as shown in the debates, had previously undergone a series of equally damaging christenings, and survived them all, and in the end asserted itself, is in the nature of things unprovable, so long as the feudal soil lasts. Conditions, still peculiar to Germany, have

forced the Social Democracy to come down from the air and place itself upon the only field there was to take a stand on—the field of reform. On that field the contestants have a common ground. On common ground contestants can deal, and barter may there be a handmaid of progress—such as is possible.

Thus the fury of the Dresden debates, the paradox they presented, is explained. Unconsciously, one set of the delegates, the Vollmar element, were in nervous apprehension lest the party was "retrograded from the ground that all agreed it had made stupendous progress on; unconsciously, another set, the Bebel element, were under a nervous strain lest the party's beloved Socialist halo was dimmed. THESE WERE THE ISSUES, and quite momentous they were. Upon them depend the downfall of the German empire, that is, the completion of the bourgeois revolution for Germany. Under such apprehensions, mutually affecting the contestants, ultimate unanimity and good will were assured. Indeed, almost perforce were the measures taken toward that end. After a violent discussion had convulsed the party's press and public meetings, before the meeting of the Congress, upon the issue of ACCEPTING THE OFFICE OF VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE REICHSTAG, and after the original resolution on the subject, truthfully reflecting the sentiment of the preceding discussion, expressly disapproved the acceptance of such an office, a watered resolution was subsequently substituted, approving the acceptance of the office, but emphatically repudiating its accessories, of which the wearing of knee-breeches at court is one—a turn about, that gave the whole pre-congress violent discussion the aspect of having been all about gaily knee-breeches only! Hence the mental placidity of the nominal minority, amidst the intense earnestness of all. Hence the virtual unanimity at the final vote.

A candle having been burnt to St. Michael, his dragon could continue to be worshipped.

## GENERAL ORGANIZER'S FUND.

HEADQUARTERS OF SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, 2-4-6 NEW READE STREET, NEW YORK, JANUARY 2, 1904.

To All District and Local Alliances, Members at Large and Sympathizers, Greeting:—

In pursuance of the action of the last National Convention of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, the General Executive Board hereby issues a call for voluntary contributions, either in one large amount or in weekly installments, for the purpose of establishing a General Organizer's Fund, this fund to be kept intact and to be used to put and keep in the industrial field a General Organizer, who shall agitate, organize and help in the upbuilding of the Alliance throughout the country.

Comrades and friends, the time is now ripe for the building up of an economic organization that will mean something to the working class. With the agreement-signing, seab-furnishing and other treacherous attributes rapidly being developed by the old-style, pure and simple trade unions, under the leadership of the coterie of modern labor fakirs who control them, and the many acts of betrayal and playing into the hands of the capitalists continually cropping up—and that will continue to crop up as time goes on—the rank and file of the workers are fast coming to realize that they are being duped by those in whom they have heretofore placed confidence. As a result they are becoming more and more amenable to the teachings of a class-conscious organization which recognizes the class struggle and points out to them the necessity of understanding their class interests and uniting on class lines on both the economic and political fields to resist the oppression of the capitalist class and finally abolish the wage system altogether.

Knowing that the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance is the only organization established and fitted for this task, it becomes our duty and yours during this year of 1904 to make a determined effort to push the work of agitation, education and organization in order that the principles of the S. T. & L. A. may be spread among the workers of all callings and the Alliance be built up to the proportions which it should and must attain.

Any organizations in the S. T. & L. A. that may have an idle fund in their treasuries are urged to place it at the disposal of the G. E. B. for this work, and they shall receive in return the immediate benefit of an organizer. Act quickly. Work must now be pushed and results accomplished. Address all contributions to John J. Kinnely, General Secretary, 2-4-6 New Reade street, New York.

By order General Executive Board, S. T. & L. A. John J. Kinnely, General Secretary.

From Mileage Fund of the National Convention	\$50.00
General Fund by G. E. B.	10.00
L. A. 385, Woonsocket, R. I.	5.00
Total to date	\$65.00

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# The Pilgrim's Shell

## FERGAN THE QUARRYMAN

A Tale From the Feudal Times

By EUGENE SUE

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH  
By DANIEL DE LEON

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### TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

In my introduction to "The Silver Cross; or, The Carpenter of Nazareth," I said:

"Eugene Sue wrote in French a monumental work—the *Mysteries of the People; or, History of a Proletarian Family*. It is a 'work of fiction'; yet it is the best universal history extant. Better than any work, avowedly on history, it graphically traces the special features of the several systems of class-rule as they succeeded each other from epoch to epoch, together with the nature of the struggle between the contending classes. The 'Law,' 'Order,' 'Patriotism,' 'Religion,' etc., etc., that each successive tyrant class, despite its change of form, hysterically has sought refuge in in order to justify its criminal existence whenever threatened; the varying economic causes of the oppression of the toilers; the mistakes incurred by these in their struggles for redress; the varying fortunes of the conflict;—all these social dramas are therein reproduced in a majestic series of 'historic novels,' that cover leading and successive episodes in the history of the race."

The present story—*The Pilgrim's Shell; or, Fergan the Quarryman*—is one of that majestic series, among the most majestic of the set, and, with regard to the social period that it describes—its institutions, its classes, its manners, its virtues and its crimes, and the characters that it builds—the most instructive treatise on feudalism, at the very time when the bourgeois or capitalist class was struggling for a foothold, and beginning to break through the thick feudal incrustation above. More fully than Molière's plays, and strangely supplemental of the best passages on the subject in the novels of George Eliot, *The Pilgrim's Shell; or, Fergan the Quarryman* chisels the struggling bourgeois on the feudal groundwork and background, in lines so sharp and true that both the present fully developed and ruling capitalist, inheritor of the feudal attribute of plundering, is seen in the historic ancestor of his class, and his class' refuse, the modern middle class man, is foreshadowed, now also struggling like his prototype of feudal days, to keep his head above water, but, differently from his prototype, who had his future before him, now with his future behind. This double development, inestimable in the comprehension of the tactical laws that the Labor or Socialist Movement demands, stands out clear with the aid of this work.

Eugene Sue has been termed a colorist, the Titian of French literature. It does not detract from his merits, it rather adds thereto, that his brush was also photographic. The leading characters in the story—Fergan, the type of the physically and mentally clean workingman; Bezenecq the Rich, the type of the embryonic bourgeois, visionary, craven and grasping; Martin the Prudent, the type of the "conservative workingman"; the Bishop of Laon, the type of usurping power in the mantle of religion; the seigneur of Plouernel, the type of the ingrain stupidity and prejudices that characterize the class grounded on might; a dazzling procession of women—Joan the Hunchback and Azenor the Pale, Perrette the Ribald and the dame of Haut-Pourcin, Yolande and Simonne, etc.—types of the variations in the form of woman's crucifixion under social systems grounded on class rule; Walter the Pennyless, the type of dispositions too indolent to oppose the wrongs they perceive, and crafty enough to dupe both dupers and duped; Garin, the type of the master's human elueth—are figures, clad in historic garb, that either hurry or stalk impudently over the boards, followed by mobs of their respective classes, and presenting a picture that thrills the heart from stage to stage, and leaves upon the mind rich deposits of solid information and crystalline thought.

As a novel, *The Pilgrim's Shell; or, Fergan the Quarryman* pleases, entertains and elevates; as an impartor of historic information and knowledge, it incites to thought and intelligent action. Whether as literature of pleasure or of study, the work deserves the broader field of the Socialist or Labor Movements of the English-speaking world, hereby afforded to it; and inversely, the Socialist or Labor Movements of the English-speaking world, entitled to the best, and none too good; that the Movements in other languages produce, can not but profit by the work, hereby rendered accessible to them.

DANIEL DE LEON.

New York, January 1, 1904.

### PART I. THE FEUDAL CASTLE. CHAPTER I. THE SERFS OF PLOUERNEL.

The day touched its close. The autumn sun cast its last rays upon one of the villages of the seignior of Plouernel. A large number of partly demolished houses bore testimony to having been recently set on fire during one of the wars, frequent during the eleventh century, between the feudal lords of France. The walls of the huts of the village, built in pisé, or of stones held together with clayish earth, were cracked or blackened by the flames. There were still in sight, half burnt out, the rafters of the roofings, replaced by a few poles wrapped in bundles of furze or reed-grass.

The aspect of the serfs, just returned from the fields, was no less wretched than that of their hovels. Wan, emaciated, barely dressed in rags, they huddled together, trembling and uneasy. The bailiff, justiciary of the seignior, had just arrived at the village, accompanied with five or six armed men. Presently, to the number of about three hundred, the serfs gathered around him, a fellow so ill disposed towards the poor, that, to his name of Garin, the nick-name "Serf-eater" had been attached. This dreaded man wore a leather casque furnished with ribs of iron, and a coat of goatskin like his shoes. A long sword hung by his side. He was astride a reddish-brown horse, that looked as savage as its master. Men on foot, variously armed, who made up the escort of Garin the Serf-eater, kept watch over several serfs, bound hands and feet, who were brought in prisoners from other localities. Not far from them lay stretched on the ground a wretched fellow, fearfully mutilated, hideous and horrible to behold. His eyes were knocked in, his feet and hands cut off—a common punishment for rebels. This unfortunate being, hardly covered in rags, the stumps of his arms and legs wrapped in dirty bandages, was waiting for some of his companions in misery, back from the fields, to find time to transport him upon the litter which he shared with the beasts of burden. Blind, and without hands or feet, he found himself thrown upon the charity of his fellows, who now ten years helped him to eat and drink. Other serfs of Normandy and Brittany, had, at the time of the revolt against their lords, been blinded, mutilated like this wretched fellow, and left upon the spot of their punishment to perish in the tortures of hunger.

When the people of the village were gathered on the place, Garin the Serf-eater pulled a parchment out of his pocket and read as follows:

"Witness the order of the very high and very mighty Neroweg VI, lord of the county of Plouernel, by the grace of God. All his serfs and bondsmen, subject to mortmain and taillie at his pleasure and mercy, are taxed by the will of the said lord count to pay into his treasury four copper sous per head before the last day of this month at the latest." The serfs, threatened with this fresh exaction, could not restrain their lamentations. Garin the Serf-eater rolled over the assemblage a wrathful eye and proceeded: "If the said sum of four copper pieces per head is not paid before the expiration of the time fixed, it will please the said high and mighty lord Neroweg VI, Count of Plouernel, to cause certain serfs to be seized, and they will be punished, or hanged by his provost from his seigniorial gibbets. Neither the annual tax, nor the regular dues, is to be lowered in the least by this extraordinary levy of four sous of copper, which is intended to indemnify our said lord for the losses caused by the recent war which his neighbor, the Sire of Castel-Redon, declared against him."

The bailiff descended from his horse to speak to one of the men in his escort. Several serfs muttered to one another: "Where is Fergan? He alone would have the courage to humbly remonstrate with the bailiff that we are wretched, that the taxes, the services, the regular and the extraordinary dues are crushing us, and that it will be impossible for us to pay this tax."

"Fergan must have remained behind in the quarry where he cuts stone," remarked another serf.

Presently, the bailiff continued to read as follows: "Lord Gonthram, eldest son of the very noble, very high and very mighty Neroweg VI, Count of Plouernel, having attained his eighteenth year, and being of knight's age, there shall be paid to him, according to the custom of Plouernel, one denier by each serf and vassal of the domain, in honor and to the glory of the knighthood of the said Lord Gonthram. Payment to be made this month."

"Still more!" murmured several of the serfs with bitterness; "it is fortunate that our lord has no daughter, we would some day have to pay taxes in honor of her marriage, as we shall have to pay them in honor of the knighthood of the sons of Neroweg VI. May God have mercy upon us."

"Pay, my God! but wherewith?" interjected another serf in a low voice. "Oh, it is a great pity that Fergan is not around to speak for us."

The bailiff having finished his reading, beckoned to a serf named Peter the Lame. Peter was not lame; but his father, by reason of that infirmity had received the nick-name which his son preserved. He advanced trembling before Garin the Serf-eater. "This is the third Sunday that you have not brought your bread to be baked at the seigniorial oven," said the bailiff; "nevertheless you have eaten bread these three weeks, seeing you are alive."

"Master Garin . . . my misery is such . . ."

"You have had the impudence to have your bread baked under the ashes, you scurvy beggar!"

"Oh, good Master Garin, our village was set on fire and sacked by the men of the Sire of Castel-Redon; the little clothing that we had has been burnt or pillaged; our cattle stolen or driven off; our crops devastated during the war. Have mercy upon us!"

"I am talking to you about oven and not about war! You owe three deniers oven-dues; you shall pay three more as a fine."

"Six deniers! Poor me! Six deniers! And where do you expect me to find so much money?"

"I know your tricks, knaves that you are! You have hiding places, where you bury your deniers. Will you pay, yes or no, you earth-worm? Answer immediately!"

"We have not one obole . . . the people of the Sire of Castel-Redon have left us only our eyes to weep over our disaster!"

hands to the man-at-arms: "Take me prisoner, if it pleases you, I do not own a single denier. It will be impossible for me to satisfy you."

"That's just what we are about to ascertain," replied the bailiff; and, while one of his men bound the hands of Peter the Lame without his offering the slightest resistance, another took from a pouch suspended from his belt some touch-wood, a tinder-box and a sulphurated wick, which he lighted. Garin the Serf-eater, turning to Peter the Lame, who, at the sight of these preparations began to grow pale, said: "They will place this lighted wick between your two thumbs; if you have a hiding place where you bury your deniers, your pain will make you speak. Go ahead."

The serf answered not a word. His teeth chattered with fear. He fell upon his knees before the bailiff, stretching out to him his two bound hands in supplication. Suddenly a young girl jumped out of the group of the villagers. Her feet were bare, and for only cover she had a coarse skirt on. She was called Pierrine the Goat because, like her sheep, she was savage and fond of rugged solitudes. Her thick black hair half hid her savage face, burnt by the sun. Approaching the bailiff without lowering her eyes, she said bluntly to him: "I am the daughter of Peter the Lame; if you want to torture someone, leave my father and take me."

"The wick!" impatiently called out Garin the Serf-eater to his men, without either looking at or listening to Pierrine the Goat. "The wick! And hurry up! Night approaches." Peter the Lame, despite his cries, despite the heart-rending entreaties of his daughter, was thrown upon the ground and held down by the men of the bailiff. The torture of the serf was conducted in sight of his companions in misery, who were brutified with terror, and by the habit of serfdom. Peter uttered fearful imprecations; Pierrine the Goat no longer screamed, no longer implored the tormentors of her father. Motionless, pale, sombre, her eyes fixed and drowned with tears, she alternately bit her fists in mute rage, and murmured: "If I only knew where his hiding-place was, I would tell it."

At last, Peter the Lame, vanquished by pain, said to his daughter in a broken voice: "Take the hoe, run to our field; rake up the earth at the foot of the large elm; you will there find nine deniers in a piece of hollow wood." Then, casting upon the bailiff a look of despair, the serf added: "That's my whole treasure, Sire Garin; I'm now ruined!"

"Oh, I was certain that you had a hiding place"; and turning to his men: "Stop the torture; one of you follow this girl and bring back the money. Let her not be lost sight of."

Pierrine the Goat went off quickly, followed by one of the men-at-arms, after having cast upon Garin a furtive and ferocious look. The serfs, terrified, silent, hardly dared to look at one another, while Peter, uttering plaintive moans, despite his punishment having ceased, murmured while he wept hot tears: "Oh, how shall I be able to till the ground with my poor hands wounded and sore!"

Accidentally the bailiff caught sight of the blind serf, mutilated of his four limbs. Pointing at the unhappy being, he cried out in a threatening voice:

"Profit by that example, ye people of the glebe! Behold how they are treated who dare rebel against their lords. Are you, or are you not subject to taillie at the pleasure and mercy of your lord?"

"Oh, yes, we are serfs, Master Garin," replied the wretches, "we are serfs at the mercy of our master!"

"Seeing you are serfs, you and your race, why always stinging, cheating and pilfering on the taxes? How often have I not caught you in fraud and at fault. The one sharpens his plowshare without notifying me, that he may purloin the denier due to the seignior every time he sharpens his sock; the other pretends he is free from the horn-dues under the false claim that he owns no horned cattle; others carry their audacity to the point of marrying in a neighboring seignior; and so on, any number of enormities! Must you, then, miserable fellows, be reminded that you belong to your lord in life and death, body and goods? Must it be repeated to you that all there is of you belongs to him—the hair on your heads, the nails on your fingers, the skin on your vile carcasses, everything, including the virginity of your daughters?"

"Oh, good Master Garin," an old serf, named by reason of his subtlety, Martin the Prudent, ventured without daring to raise his eyes, "oh, we know it; the priests repeat to us incessantly that we belong, soul, body and goods, to the lords whom the will of God sets over us. But there are those who say . . . oh, it is not we who dare to say aught . . . things contrary to these declarations."

"And who is it dares contradict our holy priests? Give me the name of the infidel, the rashling."

"It is Fergan the Quarryman."

"Where is that knave, that miscreant? Why is he not here among you?"

"He must have remained cutting stone at his quarry," put in a timid voice; "he never quits work until dark."

"And what is it that Fergan the Quarryman says? Let's see how far his audacity goes," replied the bailiff.

"Master Garin," the old serf went on to say, "Fergan recognizes that we are serfs of our lord, that we are compelled to cultivate for his benefit the fields where it has pleased him to settle us forever, us and our children. Fergan says that we are bound to labor, to plant, to gather in the harvests on the lands of the castle, to mount guard at the strongholds of the seignior and to defend it."

"We know the rights of the seignior. But what else does Fergan say?"

"Fergan pretends that the taxes imposed upon us increase unceasingly, and that, after having paid our dues in products, the little we can draw from our harvests is insufficient to satisfy the ever new demands of our lord. Oh, dear Master Garin, we drink water, we are clad in rags, for only nourishment we have chestnuts, berries, and, when in luck, a little bread of barley or oats."

"What!" exclaimed the bailiff in a threatening voice, "you have all the good things, and yet you dare complain!"

"No, no, Master Garin," replied the frightened serfs; "no, we do not complain! We are on the road to Paradise!"

"If, occasionally, we suffer a little, it is all the better for our salvation, as the parish priest tells us. We shall enjoy the pleasures of the next world."

"We do not complain. It is only Fergan who spoke that way the other day. We listened to him, but without approving his words."

"And we even found great fault with him for holding such language," added old Martin the Prudent, all in a tremble. "We are satisfied with our lot. We venerate, we love our lord,

Neroweg VI, and also his helpful bailiff, Garin. May God preserve them long."

"Yes, yes," exclaimed the serfs in chorus, "that's the truth, the pure truth!"

"Vile slaves!" roared the bailiff in a rage mixed with disdain, "cowardly knaves! You basely lick the hand that scourges you. Don't I know that, among yourselves, you call the noble Lord Neroweg VI 'Worse than a Wolf,' and me, his helpful bailiff, 'Serf-eater'? These are our nick-names."

"Upon our eternal salvation, Master Garin, it is not we who have given you that nick-name, Master Garin."

"By my beard! We propose to deserve our surnames. Yes, Neroweg VI will be 'worse than a wolf' to you, you pack of idlers, thieves and traitors! And, as for me, I will eat you to the bone, villains or serfs, if you try to cheat your lord of his rights. As to Fergan, that smooth talker, I'll come across him some other day, and I feel it in my bones that he will yet make acquaintance with the gibbet of the seignior of Plouernel. He will be hanged high and dry!"

"And we will not pity him, dear and good Master Garin. Let Fergan be accursed, if he has dared to speak ill of you and of our venerated lord!" answered the frightened serfs.

At this moment, Pierrine the Goat returned, accompanied by the man-at-arms, who had been charged by the bailiff to disinter the treasure of Peter the Lame. The young serf had a somber and wilder look, her tears had dried, but her eyes shot lightning. Twice she threw her thick black hair back from her forehead with her left hand, as she held her right hand behind her. She drew nearer to the bailiff step by step, while the man-at-arms, delivering to Garin a round piece of hollow wood, said: "It contains nine copper deniers, but four of them are not of the mintage of our Lord Neroweg VI."

"Foreign coin in the seignior! And yet I have forbidden you to accept any under penalty of the whip!"

"Oh, Master Garin," explained Peter the Lame, still lying on the ground, and crying at the sight of his lacerated hands, "the foreign merchants who pass, and who occasionally buy a pig, a calf or a sheep, frequently have none but coin minted in other seigniories. What are we to do? If we refuse to sell the little we have, where are we to find the money to pay the taxes with?"

The bailiff placed the deniers of Peter the Lame in a large leather pouch, and answered the serf: "You owe six deniers; among these nine pieces there are four of foreign coinage; I confiscate them. There remain five deniers of this seignior. I take them on account. You will give me the sixth when you pay the next taxes. If you don't, look out!"

"I propose to pay now!" shrieked Pierrine the Goat, striking the bailiff full in the face with a large stone that she had picked up on the road. Garin lost his balance with the violence of the blow, and the blood ran down his face; but he promptly recovered from the shock, and, rushing furiously upon the young serf, threw her down, trampled her under foot, and, half drawing his sword, was on the point of despatching her, when, recollecting himself, he said to his men: "Bind her fast; take her to the castle; her eyes will be put out to-night; and, at dawn to-morrow, she shall be hanged from the patibulary forks."

"The punishment of Pierrine the Goat will be well merited," exclaimed the serfs, hoping to turn away from themselves the wrath of Garin the Serf-eater. "Bad luck to the accursed girl! She has spilled the blood of the good bailiff of our glorious seigneur! Let her be punished as she deserves!"

"You are a set of cowards!" cried Pierrine the Goat, her face and breast bruised and bleeding from the blows that Garin had given her while trampling on her. Then, turning to Peter the Lame, who was sobbing but dared not defend his daughter, or raise his voice to implore mercy for her, she said: "Adieu; to-morrow you will see ravens circling on the side of the seigniorial gibbet; they will be the living shroud of your daughter"; and showing her fists to the dismayed serfs, she went on: "Cowards! you are three hundred, and you are afraid of six men-at-arms! There is among you all but one man truly brave; that's Fergan!"

"Oh!" yelled the bailiff, exasperated by the bold words of Pierrine the Goat, and staunching the blood that flowed from his face, "if I meet that Fergan on my route, he shall be your gibbet mate, the infamous blasphemer!" With that, Garin the Serf-eater remounted, and followed by his men, together with the serfs whom he had arrested, Pierrine the Goat among them, was soon lost to sight, leaving the inhabitants of the village struck with such terror, that on that evening they forgot to carry away the poor blind and mutilated old man, who was left to spend the night in the open.

(To be Continued.)

## The Pilgrim's Shell

OR

### Fergan the Quarryman

Will Appear in The

### Sunday and Weekly People

As a Serial.

IT WILL BE PRINTED IN BOOK FORM  
AS SOON AS IT IS COMPLETED.

This is the only English translation of  
this work of the great French author.

Don't Miss Reading It.



SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED  
STATES.

In 1898.....	2,068
In 1902.....	21,157
In 1906.....	36,564
In 1900.....	34,191
In 1902.....	53,617

Socialism is not a long way off—a  
vision in the dim and distant future.  
It is just as near as we will it to be.

## HAPPY NEW YEAR!

"Happy New Year!" is the cry now on  
every tongue and lip. On all sides the  
holiday greeting is heard, and it is care-  
lessly echoed, seldom with so much as a  
thought on the chances of its being ful-  
filled. In the midst of the reckless well-  
wishing, let the thoughtful pause and  
consider what the prospects and promise  
are for this new year, if 1904 is to be, for  
the proletarians, a really happy one.

Many and several are the tendencies  
in the economic world that must be  
taken into account.

First there is the tendency of ma-  
chinery to become ever more perfect; and  
in the ratio that it perfects itself, to re-  
duce, first, the number of men required,  
and later, the skill required of them.

Secondly, the tendency, a direct result  
of the first, for the ranks of the em-  
ployed to contain fewer and fewer men  
and an ever increasing number of women  
and children, while the ranks of the un-  
employed are swelled by the now useless  
fathers and husbands.

There is the tendency toward ignorance  
among the masses, owing to the depopu-  
lation of our schools. Younger and  
younger children are each year compelled  
to lay aside the book for the tool; while  
every year a greater number of the most  
needy are left without school-room, be-  
cause of criminally insufficient accommo-  
dations.

There is the tendency toward physical  
decline. The long hours, the intensity of  
labor, the insufficient respite for meals,  
and the adulterated poisons which the  
masses are forced to buy as food are  
having their effect. Uncle Sam is now  
the greatest consumer of patent medi-  
cines in the world. Born of fathers  
whose days are refreshed by visits to  
the tonic-bottle, and of mothers whose  
days, even at critical periods, are passed  
amid the whirl of steam sewing ma-  
chines or cotton looms, if not at still  
more arduous toil, the future generation  
bids fair to excel the present in the  
number of physical culture schemes  
which it will support.

To cap the climax, and intensify all  
the miseries caused by the preceding ten-  
dencies, there is the cost of living ad-  
vancing with seven league boots, so that  
it is now estimated at 38 per cent. higher  
than it was eight years ago.

These are only tendencies, or the  
chronic disease. The country is now on,  
if not already over, the verge of an ac-  
cute attack the like of which it has  
never experienced. An industrial crisis  
has been slowly gathering, and is now  
about to break out with terrific malig-  
nancy, affecting every part and organ of  
our body social. Every day brings in  
fresh reports of failures, bankruptcies,  
lock-outs, wage-reductions and—as the  
most natural, though most terrible re-  
sults—suicides. Looking at these facts,  
the anticipations for the new year would  
seem anything but cheering.

But it always is darkest before dawn.  
If there were no remedy for this crush-  
ing evil, if there were none skillful  
enough to apply it, the outlook would  
indeed be black. But, fortunately, there  
is a remedy; though no one person can  
apply it in unison—at the ballot box,  
patiently instructing all men how to.  
That teacher is the Socialist Labor  
Party; the remedy is Socialism! When  
the Party's work shall have been done,  
when all the laborers of this broad land  
shall be gathered beneath that standard,  
—then rotting wealth and pinching want,  
"prosperity" floods and industrial crises  
will be at an end forever: the workers  
will know the remedy and the means to

apply it in unison—at the ballot box,  
backed by resolute hearts to enforce the  
decree of their suffrage.

The men of the S. L. P. and her sister  
organization, the S. T. & L. A., are every-  
where girding up their loins for the  
struggle. From ocean to ocean are fly-  
ing words of cheer, hope, and encourage-  
ment. Comrades, grown old in the ser-  
vice, are clearing the way for their  
younger brethren. Preparations are be-  
ing made for a more active and unremit-  
ting propaganda; and all over the land,  
vows are ascending on this New Year's  
day, that the present system of slavery  
shall die.

So again, this time soberly and with a  
depth of meaning, the Socialist Labor  
Party cries out:—

"A Happy New Year, ye Proletarians  
of America!"

## HERE AND THERE.

Elsewhere in this issue, the review of  
the Dresden Congress—long delayed by  
reason of the delay of the official report  
of the Congress in arriving—will be  
found at last, yet not too late. As times  
grow hotter, a correct and either way  
dispassionate estimate of things is es-  
sential for safety as for progress.

None but the visionary—that danger-  
ous element at all critical times, the  
present above all, and upon whom the  
warning, drawn by Marx and Engels from  
the disaster of the Paris Commune, is  
lost—will feel disheartened at the pic-  
ture that the review unveils. The think-  
ing element whose thought and activity  
the Socialist Labor Party is enlisting,  
who are training themselves for the  
man's work, that is at hand, and to whom  
the materialist conception of historic  
evolution is no hollow phrase, but a liv-  
ing, guiding Truth, will only gather  
strength from its contemplation.

The German Social Democracy is do-  
ing brilliantly, the best it can,—but that  
best is not Socialism. As outlined in  
the review, the path of "Reform" that it  
treads is imperative. No fault may be  
found with it for having abandoned that  
of "Revolution," least of all for clinging,  
as it does, to its Socialist reminiscences,  
and thus to an appearance not warranted  
by the facts. If fault is at all to be  
found, it is on the score of its leaders  
failing to post themselves upon America,  
to recognize that leadership has passed  
from Germany, and thus to aid rather  
than retard the Movement in America.  
But men, facing the arduous task set  
to the German Social Democracy, and  
staggering under the alps of their feudal  
monarchy, may not be criticised too  
rigidly.

On the other hand the review will  
serve to cover with shame the motleys,  
who, parading in America under the  
stolen feathers of Socialism, as the "So-  
cialist," alias Social Democratic party,  
are deporting themselves like Indians  
who have found a watch, and, in the in-  
stinctive consciousness of their own  
weakness, seek for support abroad,  
though by doing so their conduct could  
ONLY TEND TO HOLD BACK THE  
MOVEMENT EVERYWHERE ELSE  
through the lowering of its tone here,  
where, differently from all other nations,  
the path for the Revolutionary Movement  
has been paved smooth by the utter  
overthrow of the last vestiges of feudal-  
ism, and where no geographic complica-  
tions exist to retard our march, or lame  
our blows.

Accordingly, the review—where every  
fact of importance is furnished by the  
official report itself of the Dresden Con-  
gress—will serve to quicken the pulse  
of the militant Socialist Labor Party, that,  
alive to the mission placed by economic  
and political evolution in the hands of  
the people of America, never has trailed  
the banner of the Socialist Revolution, and  
never will; and that, placed by social and  
political evolution at the post of danger,  
at the vanguard of the Revolution, will  
be true to itself and its trust, and, how-  
ever the shots may rain, fight the battle  
upon which depends, not only our own,  
but the emancipation of our less favored  
and favorably situated fellow-men of  
other lands and other climes.

## THE CHICAGO FIRE.

"There you have it!" we imagine some  
one or other say when he hears the So-  
cialists point to the recent disastrous  
fire of the Iroquois Theatre in Chicago  
as another count in the indictment of  
capitalism. "There you have it! The  
Socialists can see nothing but Social-  
ism. Whatever accident happens, straight-  
away they charge it to capitalism!" If ever  
appearances justified the criticism, it is  
in this instance. And yet the Socialist  
charge is correct, in this instance as well.  
Yes, the calamity of the Iroquois The-  
atre is a capitalist crime. Breaking  
through the crust of external appear-

ances, the Chicago hecatomb points its  
gory fingers to an economic feature that  
is essentially capitalistic.

No sane man will deny that "accidents"  
will happen in the best regulated fami-  
lies; no intelligent man will gainsay  
the human proclivity to negligence. The  
chapter of "accidents" is inexhaustible.  
Making amplest allowance for all that,  
is that the sum total of the Iroquois  
Theatre lesson? No; of itself, that  
would be trifling. Below all that lies  
something else,—the real cause of the  
disaster, an economic feature special to  
capitalism that helps strew its path with  
disasters.

No industrial system, of the several  
that preceded the present, reached so  
deeply, as does capitalism, in revolution-  
izing and improving the methods of pro-  
duction, nor proceeded so swiftly, nor  
extended its progressive influence so  
widely. And yet, parallel with that fact  
is this other; in the instance of no other  
industrial system have antiquated meth-  
ods and tools been clung to so tenacious-  
ly. To give an amusing illustration: In  
this city of New York, the metropolis of  
the nation, and in these days, one would  
say, of universal electricity, there are  
still seen dingy, slow-poking horse-tram-  
ways! The illustration suggests a num-  
ber of others; all of them, in turn, point  
to this economic fact: Under capitalism  
the tool of production is there to knock  
off profits with; and seeing itself as a  
deposit of capital, it is stuck to as long  
as a copper can be wrung out of it. As  
a consequence, the human race is kept,  
not abreast of its inventive powers, but  
behind: valuable improvements and in-  
ventions are kept locked in the private  
vaults of individual capitalists, so as to  
afford them time to recover the full out-  
lay made in the now antiquated machin-  
ery that they operate, and that would  
become just so much junk the moment  
the improved tool were set in operation:  
as a final consequence, we have the con-  
tinued, and now avoidable danger to life  
and limb that accompanies most indus-  
tries, and that periodically shock the  
mind in reports of "cave-ins," "explo-  
sions," etc., etc.—and in such disasters  
as this one at Chicago.

There is, to-day, no excuse whatever  
for any but a determined suicide to be  
burned up in a theatre fire. Inventions  
galore there are whereby walls can be  
made fireproof and the insides of the-  
atres absolutely incombustible. Chemi-  
cal discoveries exist whereby necessary  
materials, such as wood, ropes, costumes,  
drapery and even paper—otherwise com-  
bustible—can be made as impervious to  
flame as sheet iron. And, as if to make  
assurance doubly sure, there is not, to-  
day, in these days of dynamo, any oc-  
casion whatever for the presence of fire  
in any shape within the precincts of  
public or crowded buildings. The Iro-  
quois Theatre neglected all these pre-  
cautions, or, to put it more in accord  
with the economic motive, the Iroquois  
Theatre, a private venture for profit,  
was bent upon knocking off all the profits  
it could on its now antiquated outfit—  
just as coal mine owners and other pri-  
vate concerns do with their antiquated  
methods; and, just as these, and for  
identical reasons, the Iroquois Theatre  
put human life in jeopardy and sacri-  
ficed it, rather than forego the hope of  
recouping itself by stepping forward  
abreast of the genius of the age.

Coolly, intelligently scanned, the hor-  
rors of the Iroquois Theatre are but a  
microscopic illustration of the chronic,  
continuous and mammoth horrors that  
capitalist economics afflict the human  
race with.

Stamp out the plague!

## TRYING TO "STICK" EACH OTHER.

The present attitude of the Democratic  
and the Republican wings of capitalism,  
at the very threshold of a presidential  
election, should not escape notice. It  
tells plainly of the economic and political  
quackery of both, and what the work-  
ingmen have to expect from either.

A crisis, financial and industrial, is at  
hand. Every man who is posted and has  
no personal purposes to subserve knows  
it, and says so. The facts graphically  
leaped from Mr. Hanna's lips at the  
private banquet, reported in these col-  
umns, when he declared soup-houses  
would soon be seen in all the industrial  
centers; and these views, almost liter-  
ally, are reappearing in the press in all  
manner of connections. What, under  
such circumstances, would be the atti-  
tude of real statesmen, men of skill and  
feeling? They would, to the extent of  
their lights, seek to cope with the threat-  
ened storm, and each holding his own  
diagnosis correct and his methods best,  
would in all sincerity be trying to secure  
the helm of the ship of state in

order to steer it into port. Not  
so with the Republican and Demo-  
cratic chieftains. While fatuous and  
vainglorious individuals in the camp  
of each are seeking to "get there,"  
the two organizations and those that run  
them are "playing shy." The astute  
Democratic leaders prefer to be defeated  
at the next presidential election, because  
of the hard times that they foresee are  
then due, and they do not wish the  
Democracy to get the blame for, as it  
would were it in power; and, in their  
turn, the astute leaders of the Republi-  
can party are getting ready to "ride for  
a fall" wishing to escape being in power  
during the crisis they likewise foresee  
and, if in power, would be held respon-  
sible for. The only enthusiasm notice-  
able among the two sets of managers is  
in behalf of some candidate of the oppos-  
ing camp. Each wishes to see the other  
stuck.

There is no difference between these  
capitalists, on the one hand, and the ig-  
norant superstitious sachems of barbar-  
ians, on the other, who stood impotently  
by during pestilential outbreaks or as-  
tronomical convulsions. As the latter  
looked upon these visitations as "nat-  
ural" and as "punishments" inflicted by  
God, so do the former, regard these peri-  
odical devastations of men and their  
homes as "inevitable" and have nothing  
better to think of than to so manoeuvre  
as to "stick" each other's competitor,  
duck and let the storm blow over.

Not from the capitalist camp has the  
Working Class anything to hope for.  
Its hope must be in itself. Not till it  
overthrows the mischievous system of  
capitalist society can it be rid of the  
epidemics of crises, alternated by chronic  
poverty and degradation. Our present  
masters are political quacks.

## NORDAU AND IMPERIALISM.

Max Nordau, the well-known social  
philosopher, in an interview just pub-  
lished, expresses great distress over the  
growth of imperialism in the United  
States. He declares imperialism is  
causing this country to degenerate, in-  
stead of becoming a great moral force,  
and regards the outcome with some  
misgivings.

Nordau, no doubt, is right. His anti-  
imperialistic feelings—and views—are  
shared by many in this country. He  
has the sympathy of a large part of  
these. He has also the defects of their  
reasoning. Like them, Nordau views  
American imperialism from a political  
instead of an economic standpoint. This  
leads to all sorts of fallacies.

The United States does not rush into  
world affairs merely in order to ac-  
quire the political domination of for-  
eign lands. The United States rushes  
into world affairs primarily to secure  
the economic domination of foreign mar-  
kets. It needs these in order to maintain  
its commercial position, without which  
its existence as a nation would be endan-  
gered. The United States, impelled by  
the necessity of getting rid of the sur-  
plus products, which, owing to the rob-  
bery of the working class by means of  
surplus value, cannot be consumed in  
its own markets, must expand or burst;  
and, in order to protect its home market  
from destruction, an event which would  
be equal to piling up its surplus prod-  
ucts, the United States must secure  
control of countries like Cuba, some  
of whose industries threaten, by their  
competition, to work such destruction.

The United States, as a matter of  
capitalist safety, cannot give free trade  
to Cuba, nor can it relinquish its hold  
on the Philippines, the gateway to the  
vast new and undeveloped markets of  
China, with their 500,000,000 beings  
who can be converted into purchasers.  
The protection of domestic markets and  
the greater development of production  
over consumption makes it imperative  
that the capitalist class of the United  
States maintain imperialism at the  
present excessive cost. Such cost will  
not be as heavy to the capitalist class  
as that which would have to be paid  
were the commercial outlets of the  
United States closed; for such a condi-  
tion of affairs would provoke industrial  
stagnation, disorder and discontent, all  
of which would, most likely, bring  
about the downfall of the American cap-  
italist class and American capitalism.

Nordau, and those who believe as he  
does, fail to strike at the cause of this  
necessity. They are battling with ef-  
fects, not causes. With the necessity  
for foreign markets removed, with the  
capitalist robbery of surplus value  
gone, the United States would be truly  
incapable of degeneracy, for then it  
would be moral to the core. Then  
would it really be the great moral force  
which the philosophers and the friends

of humanity have always hoped it  
would be.

But the Nordaus, especially those of  
this country, will not part with capital-  
ism; they will not remove the neces-  
sity. They will persist in adhering to  
capitalism, to keep that necessity alive,  
believing that the logical outgrowth of  
capitalist development can be other than  
the putrid things they are. Let them  
then stand the consequences of their folly  
without complaint. To the Socialist  
alone is it wisely and truly given to  
combat imperialism by removing its  
necessity through the substitution of So-  
cialism for capitalism. Through the re-  
placement of the robber capitalist sys-  
tem by the Socialist co-operative sys-  
tem, in which the producer will receive  
to the full value of his product and be  
in a position to purchase it back; in  
which, consequently, surplus products  
and the necessity for foreign markets  
and foreign domination will be un-  
known.

The Socialist is the only true anti-  
imperialist.

According to a despatch from Wilkes-  
barre, Pa., the leaders of the United  
Mine Workers this week began a vigor-  
ous stirring up of the mine workers who  
are losing interest in the union, and the  
fact that this augurs defeat for 1906 is  
being forced home in speeches before the  
various locals. Mass meetings have been  
arranged all through the region, and the  
men are to be told that the very notice-  
able lack of interest, non-payment of  
dues and non-attendance at meetings  
threaten to defeat all the projects of the  
union.

The men are told that when the pres-  
ent three years' agreement ends, in 1906,  
the companies intend to force a reduc-  
tion in wages and that unless the organi-  
zation is kept up there will be no chance  
of gaining the additional advance for  
which the miners hope. Some of the  
speakers have already declared in favor  
of demanding a 20 per cent. advance and  
promise the miners they will get it if  
they continue to strengthen the organi-  
zation.

It is noticeable that in this agitation  
no stress is laid on the gains alleged to  
have been won in the last strike. Threats  
of reductions and demands for advances  
are the appeals used, and not the work  
accomplished. This, together with the  
necessity for such an agitation, is cer-  
tainly a damaging commentary on the  
"victory" claimed to have been won by  
Mitchell and arbitration.

The import figures for the port of New  
York, covering the year 1903, about to  
be forwarded to the Treasury Depart-  
ment at Washington, show an increase  
of \$21,200,000 over those of 1902. The  
most remarkable feature of this increase  
is the fact that it is more than made  
up by the increase in the importation  
of diamonds, gems, and other luxuries,  
which show a gain of \$27,500,000, or \$6-  
300,000 more than the total gain for  
1903. In other words imports at the  
port of New York for 1903, if diamonds,  
gems and other luxuries are excluded, ac-  
tually show a decrease of \$6,300,000.  
The phenomenal increase in the importa-  
tion of diamonds, gems and other lux-  
uries, is held to be an indication of pros-  
perity. In the light of the decrease to  
general imports, it may be said to truly  
be an indication of prosperity, but for  
the capitalist class only. The working  
class, in its struggles with low wages  
and high prices, was in no position to  
indulge in this stupendous expenditure  
for articles not absolutely necessary to  
its existence.

The big fights that are taking place in  
the Republican and Democratic parties,  
have not been cited yet by the adher-  
ents of those parties to show them in-  
capable of conducting the capitalist sys-  
tem. Still whenever the Socialists have  
a difference of opinion, and factional  
strife grows bitter, these same adher-  
ents joyfully refer to them as proof of  
the Socialist impossibility to run a peat  
stand, much less a social system.  
There is such a thing as seeing the  
beam in our neighbor's eye, and failing  
to remove the mote from our own, that  
leads to all sorts of inconsistencies.

The list of wage reductions and shut-  
downs grow longer, but the lavish ex-  
penditure of wealth by the capitalist  
class shows no abatement. Georgian  
Court, and all the other palatial estab-  
lishments of the capitalists, continue  
their expensive retinue of servants, and  
entertain on the same sumptuous scale  
that they did during prosperity. The  
workers may cry for bread, but the cap-  
italists never lack their cake. Not they.

The export figures for 11 months of  
1903 have just been made public by the  
Department of Commerce and Labor.  
They show an increase over those of  
1902 for the same months. They give  
the lie to the assertion that the high  
wages demanded by labor has made ex-  
port prohibitive.

Financiers report the outlook for 1904  
good. The working class has yet to  
be heard from, but judging from the  
wage decreases, etc., its outlook is bad.

## LO, AN INVENTION!

Great is Mr. H. T. Newcomb, the vice-  
president of the American Association for  
the Advancement of Science. At a  
meeting of his Association, held on De-  
cember 28 at St. Louis the gentleman  
delivered a speech in the course of which  
he launched an invention on the field of  
the Labor Question with a deal less mod-  
esty than Roentgen launched his discov-  
ery of the X rays on the field of physical  
science. Inventor Newcomb sketched the  
troubled waters of modern society. An-  
alyzing several of the proposed remedies  
—"compulsory arbitration" and "volun-  
tary arbitration"—he justly discarded  
both, the former as offensive, the latter  
as self-contradictory, and then he trotted  
forth his remedy or invention. It is this:

"Men must learn to bargain together  
reasonably."

This is simplicity itself. Columbus  
and his egg are not in it. Why and  
how did not this dull generation hit  
before upon so simple a plan?

Here is a pork chop in a butcher's  
stall; and there comes a would-be pur-  
chaser on a certain day. Let them "bar-  
gain together reasonably." The conceit  
of the chop makes it crave for as high,  
the greed of the would-be purchaser  
makes it strain for as low a price as  
possible. This, obviously, is not "bar-  
gaining reasonably." The would-be pur-  
chaser and the chop, unable to agree at  
first, are inspired by the breath of In-  
ventor Newcomb. They agree to con-  
sult statistics and the economic law of  
the market. These reveal to them that  
the supply of chops is largely in ex-  
cess of people capable of being would-  
be purchasers, and that a large supply  
of an article implies a correspondingly  
low rate of exchange value. The con-  
ceit of our pork chop shrinks. It rea-  
sonably thus: "If I sell not, I rot." A "rea-  
sonable bargain" is then struck. The  
chop is sold the would-be purchaser  
carries it home, and turns it to use.

A month later, another pork chop  
sparkles in all the glory of porkine fat  
and meat in the butcher's stall, and the  
identical would-be purchaser turns up  
again. Again the chop's conceit inflates  
its expectations and the would-be pur-  
chaser's greed renders him skindinty.  
The mood that the two come together in  
is not that of "bargaining reasonably."  
But again unable to agree, and again  
inspired by a breath of Inventor New-  
comb, the two agree to again consult  
statistics and the economic law of the  
market. The still larger supply of  
chops in the pork chop market—due to  
perfect means of butchering, trans-  
portation, etc.—coupled with the econ-  
omic law that an increased supply im-  
plies a decreased exchange value, brings  
our pork chop to a reasonable frame of  
mind, again greatly aided thereto by  
the thought that, if it sell not, it rots.  
The reasonable bargain is again struck,  
and paying a still smaller price than  
the month before, the would-be pur-  
chaser goes home and utilizes the use  
value of the pork chop.

As with one article of merchandise, so  
with all—including, of course, labor-  
power, the only merchandise that the  
workingman has to dispose of, a mer-  
chandise, moreover, which being insepar-  
able from his own body, means him-  
self.

There, then, is our merchandise Labor  
—spread like any pork chop on the  
butcher's counter, hung like any quar-  
ter of beef from the butcher's hook—  
inviting a seller in the Labor Market.  
It is an "unreasonable" merchandise: it  
craves the earth and the fullness there-  
of; and from the other side there ap-  
proaches the would-be purchaser, the  
capitalist, who, like all purchasers,  
strains for low prices. A "reasonable  
bargaining together" is out of question  
while the two continue in that frame of  
mind. But they do not. They "rea-  
sonably bargain together." In the  
course of the process, the merchandise  
Labor undergoes the same illumination  
that the pork chop experienced. Statis-  
tics prove to it, like they did to its pork  
chop fellow merchandise, and to a dot,  
that its supply is greatly in excess of  
the demand, due to perfected and pri-  
vately owned labor-displacing machin-  
ery; and the economic law of the mar-  
ket demonstrates to the merchandise  
Labor, like it did to its fellow merchan-  
dise pork chop, that a large supply im-  
plies a correspondingly low rate of ex-  
change value. Down goes the merchan-  
dise Labor's great hopes and aspira-  
tions, urged downward by the identical  
consideration that urged thither the ex-  
pectations of the merchandise pork chop  
—"If I sell not I rot!" And thus the  
process proceeds from year to year, ever  
newer and more perfect and more con-  
centrated privately owned means of pro-  
duction displacing ever larger swarms of  
Labor, and thereby raising the supply of  
the merchandise ever higher in the La-  
bor market.

It is unreasonable for an article of  
merchandise to seek to escape the con-  
sequences of its status. Labor, made by  
the capitalist class and their labor-lieu-  
tenants to vote itself into the status of  
merchandise, and to keep itself there,  
has all along "reasonably bargained to-  
gether" with the capitalist purchaser—  
witness the wealth the latter is gorged  
with, witness the lowering earnings and  
ever more pinching poverty of Labor.

There are those who may be frivo-  
lous enough to declare that Inventor  
Newcomb's invention is as stale as capi-  
talism. Perish the thought!

UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER  
JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—Just as soon  
as I have a chance I am going to make a  
list of all the good men in office and at  
the good men who are being nominated  
for office.

UNCLE SAM—To what end?

B. J.—To the end of voting for them,  
regardless of party.

U. S.—Whither driftest thee?  
B. J.—Toward good common sense. Do  
you think I don't learn from experience?  
I do. I was until last election a firm  
Republican, or Democrat, I don't remem-  
ber which. But I shall not continue to be  
the slave of any party, not I! I shall  
henceforth vote an eclectic ticket. I shall  
only vote for the best man put up.

U. S.—Then you won't vote with me  
the straight Socialist ticket?

B. J.—Straight ticket? No, sir. There  
are good men among the Socialists, but  
they are not all angels. There are pretty  
bad men among the Republicans and  
Democrats, I'll admit; but they are not  
all devils.

U. S.—If you want free trade do you  
look to the candidates or to the platform  
when you vote?

B. J.—What do I care for the candi-  
dates in such a case? I vote for the  
platform.

U. S.—If you want high tariff legisla-  
tion do you look to the candidates  
whether they are "good" men, or to the  
platform they stand on?

B. J.—Why, of course not; I vote for  
the high tariff platform.

U. S.—If you get a notion that what  
you need is the silver cure, do you stop  
to inquire of the excellence of the silver  
bug candidates?

B. J.—No, of course not!

U. S.—Now then, what you have ad-  
mitted amounts to this: That if you are  
after a principle, it is the principle you  
vote for, not the men. Consequently, so  
long as you look to the candidates you  
are not after a principle.

B. J.—By Jericho, caught before I  
thought of it.

U. S.—If, then, you want Socialism,  
you should vote for the Socialist plat-  
form straight.

B. J.—That's all right. I'm caught.  
If I want Socialism I should not con-  
sider the candidates, but the platform  
upon which they stand. But (approach-  
ing Uncle Sam confidentially and in a whis-  
per) now tell me, what guarantee have  
we that the Socialists, if elected, won't  
sell out?

U. S.—Did the Abolitionists, or the  
Republicans when elected, sell out?

B. J.—No!

U. S.—Go further back; did the dele-  
gates to the Continental Congress, when  
elected, sell out to King George?

B. J.—No!

U. S.—Go still further back; did the  
Roundheads, who made the revolution  
against Charles I. sell out after they  
were elected to Parliament?

B. J.—(visibly weakening)—No!

U. S.—Come again forward a little:  
did the bourgeois or the capitalists of  
France, when they captured the third  
estate, sell out to the Royalists?

B. J.—N-no!

U. S.—Now, I'll admit that the simple  
fact that none of these sold out would  
not be sufficient ground from which to  
conclude that the Socialists will not sell  
out.

B. J.—(Brightening up)—You think  
so, too, don't you?

U. S.—Yes. I say the simple fact that  
one man or set of men did not sell out  
is no guarantee that another won't—

B. J.—That's just what I think!

U. S.—The thing to look into is this:  
The reason why none of those sets



## CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

## A CARD FROM THE BRAUER ZEITUNG.

Weekly People, New York City:—The statement in last week's People relative to the brewery workers' delegation as having cast their vote for the reelection of Gompers is wrong. The assertion of your correspondent, to wit: "When Delegate Ward, of the Brewery Workers' Union, cast the vote of that organization for Gompers there was an outburst of applause, owing to the fact that the union had been beaten in its contest yesterday."

This not substantiated by the official proceedings (see page 7 in twelfth day's proceedings, where you will find that the brewery workers' delegation—Kemper, Gaestel, Zepp—cast their vote for Kref, while Ward did not vote at all, being absent).

Your "Letter Box" note, answering a reader in Cincinnati, is, therefore, also incorrect, and I hope you will do justice in correcting the error, and not allow the enemies to denounce things of that sort "another Daily People lie."—Brauer Zeitung, Dec. 26, 1903.

## THE RESULT OF THE POLICE PERSECUTION OF PIERSON.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—For the week's work just ended I will say that, with the assistance of the local comrades, I succeeded in getting 28 subscriptions to The Weekly and 2 to The Monthly People.

Our agitation meetings were a success from every point of view. We held the first meeting last Tuesday night on the main plaza. Comrades Leitner, Polard and myself addressed the crowd, which numbered about 300. We sold 24 books and got one subscription to The Weekly People.

The next meeting was held last (Saturday) night. The crowd that attended was the largest that ever assembled on a street corner in this city. I opened the meeting and Comrade Leitner followed, and made what was considered on all sides the cleverest and most logical talk ever made on Socialism in this city.

After announcing the literature on hand, we waded into the crowd and succeeded in selling 30 books and distributing a good quantity of leaflets and copies of The Monthly People.

Will leave to-day for El Paso, and hope for continued success.

Yours for the S. L. P.,

Charles Pierson.

New Antonio, Texas, Dec. 27, 1903.

## OPEN LETTER TO PROF. TEDESCHI.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—I am obliged to appeal to that fearless champion of the working class, The Daily and Weekly People, for space for the following open letter to Prof. Tedeschi, editor of "Il Proletario," official organ of the Italian Socialist Federation.

W. Hoboken, Dec. 29, 1903. E. J. G.

W. Hoboken, N. J., Dec. 29, 1903.

Prof. Tedeschi, editor of "Il Proletario": Dear Sir—In the issue of "Il Proletario" of December 13 you made a statement to the effect that you had a perfect right to express your views in reference to the Socialist Movement in America, and those views as every one knows, are in favor of the S. D. P.

You justified your action by stating that the columns of "Il Proletario" were also open to those whose views were contrary to yours. I therefore made up my mind to reply to an article published in the "Proletario," and signed by G. M. Parassio (alias G. M. Serratti), in which he boomed the S. D. P. as a bona fide Socialist party, because they were in favor of the municipalization of public utilities, and their views on taxation, trade unions and co-operative enterprises were the same as the views held by the various European Socialist parties.

The communication I sent you was mailed on the 14th inst., but I have, as yet, to see it published. I have, therefore, concluded that you do not intend to publish the same. Now, Prof. Tedeschi, may I ask you a few direct questions?

First, I would like to know if you did not publish it on account of some grammatical mistake?

If so, you must realize that I am not a professor, but merely a workman, and therefore excusable on that score.

Second, were you afraid that the truth was too plainly stated, and that it would grate upon the nerves of the intellectual? If so, why not say so?

Third, I have been informed by an Italian comrade that my communication was received by you, and the reason you gave for not publishing the same was that my premises were not correct. No doubt, from the standpoint of intellectualism, otherwise known as Kangarooism, your reply must have been correct.

Now, then, Professor, let me tell you that, although I am only a workman, nevertheless, I possess sufficient knowledge to distinguish a lie from the truth, and by means of your own statements, above referred to, I do not hesitate to brand you as you deserve, as a professor of lying statements.

Edw. J. Gallo.

## "THE YULE LOG OF UNCLE SAM."

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Under the head of "The Yule Log of Uncle Sam" the Columbus Citizen of the

24th inst. says:

"One of the earliest remedies of kings and czars and popes for the mitigation of supposed evil was the burning of all the books and manuscripts that might throw the light of intelligence upon current problems."

Then the Citizen goes on asking these questions:

"Has Uncle Sam burned the books? Is the Constitution, if not utterly destroyed, as precious as it was some years ago? Are the Declaration of Independence and the first tidings of freedom which it gave to the human race preserved in their original forms or reduced to ashes? Are we as formerly a nation of freemen destined to give liberty to all who share our bounty, or are we becoming a nation of tyrants, receiving our inspiration from a system of colonialism that makes military slaves abroad and industrial slaves at home?"

"There will be many Yule logs burned in this country this Christmas tide—not in the old sense of a limb rent from a monarch of the forest, but in a sense of modern illuminations. Are we not burning the books while we burn the logs? Are we not facetiously or gravely gathering around a fire which consumes our national traditions and interests while it celebrates the repudiated doctrine of 'Peace on earth, good will toward men?'"

Knowing the Citizen's inclination toward the expiring middle class, we can forgive its reference to "the burning of the Constitution," by simply telling him that this precious thing of years gone by has naturally worn off under the progress of modern industry. No longer is there any need of a Constitution. Since the class of large capitalists has absolute control of States and nation, the interest of this class becomes paramount; while the Constitution is relegated to the lumber room and brought out only in so far as it promotes the interest of that class.

Long may you weep for this precious thing of years gone by; for, like our grandmother's spinning wheel, it belongs to a past age and has gone, never to return.

Let us pass on. The Citizen asks, "Are we as formerly a nation of free men?"

No; we have no longer free access to land and natural resources—access which our ancestors possessed, and from a nation of freemen in the sense quoted above have become, and are now, a nation of wage slaves, ruled by tyrants who receive their inspiration from a system, not of colonialism, but from a system of capitalism that implies colonialism; that makes wage slaves abroad and wage slaves at home.

As for the burning of the books, Charles Pierson's arrest in Galveston, Texas, followed by the publication in the capitalist press throughout the United States (the Citizen included) of a false accusation, started by a set of idiotic officers; the miners' strike in Colorado; the constant harassing by its enemies of The Daily People—the only paper in America that fearlessly throws the light of intelligence upon current problems—are modern instances of "the burning of the books."

Right you are, Citizens, when you say, "There will be many Yule logs burned at this Christmas tide," but not only at this Christmas tide, but every day following for some time to come, for will-o'-wisp Yule logs to burn, Citizen, your torch would be useless in the hands of the capitalist class.

Now, then, for "the Declaration of Independence, and the first tidings of freedom": They are neither reduced to ashes nor preserved in their original forms; they are preserved and somewhat added to by the working class, the rightful heir of that noble document.

Organized under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party, that class will continue to preserve and cherish it until the tocsin for ultimate freedom has sounded.

O. M. Field.

Columbus, Ohio, December 24.

## THE ALLIANCE IN LOWELL.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—A letter from Robert Smith, a member of Local Alliance 407, S. T. & L. A., Lowell, Mass., tells of the industrial conditions in Lowell and the agitation carried on by the Alliance there. The above Local was organized three months ago and it is gratifying to hear of such good work being carried on in a city like Lowell, a city of low wages and poverty.

Mr. Smith in his letter says "business has been so dull that it is a hard rub to us. I suppose it is all for the best, as it will show what kind of mettle our men are made of."

From the foregoing, I infer Mr. Smith means that some of the men in the Alliance must be half-hearted about the movement and the present conditions are going to show if they are sincere. Perhaps he means that something like the conditions that are showing themselves just now, will point out to the people that are indifferent that it is only through the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance that they can help to emancipate themselves.

With reference to the meeting held Sunday, Dec. 28, he regrets that an out-

of-town speaker did not show up. He says "we did not allow a little thing like that to bother us." This is very encouraging indeed. I had the pleasure to be present at the meeting on the above date. Unfortunately the day was wet. Nevertheless, there was a fair-sized audience and it was well rewarded for coming. Dana, who was chairman, is a recent addition to Section Lowell. He spoke on classes, showing the economic differences between them.

Mr. Smith was next. He showed how the Alliance fought the American Woolen Co., on the two-loom system. It was well worth hearing. Mr. Smith is a new addition to the movement. Other speakers followed. One of them was Comrade John Farrell, press agent of Section Lowell. If any of the audience went away without being impressed by Comrade Farrell on the conditions of the working class, he must be prejudiced against the movement or too stupid to learn anything for his own good.

As a member of Section Lowell for the past three and a half years, but not in a position to take a very active part, I thought by January 1, 1904, I might withdraw, and have the burden fall on the shoulders of other comrades that could devote more of their time to it. That was my secret wish for some time and through the good work that State Organizer Carroll did here last fall, I can see the goal of my ambition.

But can any man withdraw from active participation in the work after reading Mr. Smith's letter? I say no. If any member of Section Lowell or any Section in Massachusetts fails to do his duty during the coming Industrial Crisis, which can't be avoided, he as a traitor to his class. If you can't aid the movement financially, speak encouragingly of it. Try and procure subscribers for its press and bring the working people to its agitation meetings and let them learn for themselves. Fraternal greeting from

Thomas A. Rudy.

Lowell, Mass., Dec. 25.

## THE S. L. P. IN HAMILTON, ONT.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—As the comrades throughout the country have not heard from Section Hamilton for some time, we thought we would let them know we are still on the firing line. We held a rousing lecture on December 22 with Comrade Efed Haslegrove, of London, Ont., as principal speaker.

I. Shapiro, as Chairman, gave a short address on pure and simple trade unions and the Workingmen's Municipal League, run by the fakirs of the Trades and Labor Council and a few sky pilots, whose congregations are dwindling down and who have to look for new fields of graft.

The Chairman then called upon Comrade William Barrett, organizer of Section Hamilton, who outlined the S. L. P. movement as compared with the "Socialists" or party of many names, showing very conclusively the difference between them, and wound up by a very eloquent appeal for subscriptions to The Weekly People.

The Chairman then introduced Comrade Haslegrove, whose remarks were along the following lines:

In commencing, the speaker compared the state of affairs as they exist to-day with the time of Rome in her greatness, and showed that our system of government was very similar to what they had then, but science and invention had advanced for the benefit of the capitalist and not the worker, who thought it out and produced it. He referred to the recent famines in India and showed how such calamities could be averted by making use of the improved means of transportation and bringing food into the afflicted territory.

Regarding the unemployed, about whom so much has been said, the speaker was willing to wager that there was not one man in a hundred who would not work if he could get it under proper conditions.

Capitalism was a failure, a system whose keystone is private property, and the majority of the people under it are divorced from the keystone.

The remedy was the collective ownership of the means of production to be accomplished by a revolution, not by force, but by the ballot, in a peaceful manner.

"Trade unions," said the lecturer, "are organized according to crafts. It is necessary for the workers to organize in the interests of their class."

He referred to White of the Garment Workers as an evidence of the wrong principles of trade unions as they are now conducted.

In closing, the speaker urged the workers to become class conscious and stand by the party that stood for the working class—the Socialist Labor Party.

Several questions were asked and answered to the complete satisfaction of the audience.

## LAWYER FLEES FROM S. L. P. ARGUMENT.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Local Alliance, 407, S. T. & L. A., Sunday, the 27th inst., voted not to hold an agitation meeting on that date, so William H. Carroll, State Organizer of the S. L. P., who was to speak, and some of the members went to a meeting in Jackson Hall ward committee room.

Comrade Farrell opened the meeting with a few remarks. Lawyer Manning, the principal speaker, gave a speech on taxation and other questions of no benefit to the working class. Carroll followed, making a speech that caused Mr. Parker, a Kang, to take the floor and praise Carroll for the stand he took in favor of the

working class and the principles of the Socialist Labor Party.

All this time the lawyer was waiting to get the floor again. He was disappointed, however, for Richard Murphy, of Lynn, Mass., next got the floor and exposed the fallacies of the lawyer's speech in a way that made it look like 30 cents.

When Manning finally got the floor to reply to Carroll and Murphy he said he thought Murphy was an Englishman and objected to my wearing a red necktie. He then went on to tell about the inventor.

When he sat down I arose to answer his "argument," especially to say something about his objections to my red necktie; but when I looked around to where he had been he was gone. I called to him, but all that I could see of him was his coat tails going out of the door, amid hisses and cries of "Coward!" from the audience. I think he ran away, because he was afraid he was going to get another lambasting like that Carroll and Murphy had given him.

R. W. Smith.

Lowell, Mass., Dec. 27, 1903.

## S. T. &amp; L. A. AND S. L. P. ACTIVITY IN LAWRENCE, MASS.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—L. A. 373, Worsteds and Woolen Weavers of Lawrence, Mass., held a successful concert and sale Friday evening, which will net something over \$30.

Revolutionary songs were rendered and were much appreciated by those present. Comrade Murphy, of Lynn, and myself addressed the gathering in English, and Comrade Paul Vandome spoke in French.

Five persons came forward and signed their names to become members of the local.

To-morrow evening Section Lawrence will hold an agitation meeting in their headquarters.

The comrades here in Lawrence are determined to carry on the fight. Comrade Kenny, who was elected organizer of the section at its meeting yesterday, has delegated to attend the party conference in Boston Saturday evening.

It is to be hoped that all other sections of the State will do likewise.

Fraternally, W. H. Carroll.

Lawrence, Mass., December 29, 1903.

## THE HOMESTRETCH FUND.

I.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Find enclosed \$30 for the Homestretch Fund, from the following: C. Lambert, \$2; Fred Meier, \$3; Dr. S. J. Stewart, \$1; Ernest Hinkelmann, \$3; W. Blank, \$3; W. Beavis, \$10; Adolph Anderson, \$3; J. Hodges, \$2.50; Frank Crossman, \$2.50; total, \$30. This makes \$62 to date. We have \$44 more pledged, and a chance to get more yet.

Several of us have been hit hard by the undertow of the receding prosperity wave, but we all know that the revolution from Capitalism to Socialism is the only remedy that will improve the condition of our class. We also know that we must have a fearless, independent press to vanguard our progress in that direction. We know, further, that in order to have such a press we must own it absolutely. And, finally, we know that when it is necessary to own anything it is now necessary to pay for it. Every dollar given to The Daily People is a dollar's worth of work done by the donor upon the foundation of the Socialist Republic that will redound to eternal benefit of the working class forever.

The past is gone. Through its tribulations The Daily People has forged her way to a position where the Socialist Labor Party can save her, let the membership be ever so small. If The Daily People is not saved now it will be to the everlasting disgrace of the present membership of the S. L. P. Whoever does not do something now has no right to lay claim to manhood. So let every member do all he can (less than that is not enough) now, and The Daily People will be sure of a life long enough to bring the Revolution.

William McCormack.

Seattle, Wash., Dec. 24, 1903.

## II.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed find money order for \$37, contributed to the Homestretch Fund by the following members of Section Mesa County, S. L. P., Colorado: S. B. Hutchinson, \$5; S. L. P., \$5; J. N. Billings, \$5; Nelson Pritchard, \$5; N. S. Johnson, \$5; M. H. Jones, \$2; J. A. Connell, \$1.50; Mrs. S. B. Hutchinson, \$1; J. B. Gesburg, \$1; J. C. Kueera, \$1; W. H. Burkhardt, 50 cents; J. M. Sellers, 50 cents; Edwin Coulton, 50 cents; total, \$37.

We would like to have done more, and hope that all the revolutionists will do as much to clear The Daily and Weekly People debt forever. J. W. Billings.

Committee on Homestretch Fund.

Grand Junction, Mesa Co., Col.

## III.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed find National Express money order for the sum of \$8, received for the Homestretch Fund, as follows: Wm. Reisenburg, \$3; J. Hannerle, \$3; F. Krachenbuehl, \$2.

At our next meeting we have an election of officers, and will send in, with the semi-annual report, the full amount pledged to the fund.

Hoping that the debt will be wiped out, I am, fraternally,

Aug. F. Fielder.

Organizer Section Chicago, S. L. P.

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 27.

## IV.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed find money order for \$25, for which amount credit Section Belleville, to the Homestretch Fund. This makes \$45 paid by Section Belleville.

Walter Goss.

Belleville, Ill., Dec. 28, 1903.

## V.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—The enclosed \$6 are contributed by R. H. Lockhart and Stephen Bailey to the Homestretch Fund. May they help put the finishing touches on the sword—The Daily, Weekly and Monthly People—of the Revolution, which, being of no uncertain temper, has a keen edge that is leaving its marks on the flanks of pure and simplem, as was witnessed at the A. F. of L. Convention.

May the arm (the S. L. P.) that wields it grow stronger until the labor prostitutes (those serpents of moral and intellectual credulity that are now hissing from the flowery nooks and ivied crannies of this beautiful but appalling epoch of destruction) are hurled into oblivion, never more to scourge the earth with their degenerate presence, is the wish of a private in the ranks, with no trees to get behind.

S. B.

Delta, Colo., December 20.

## VI.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed find money order for \$5 as a donation to the Daily People Homestretch Fund. I highly appreciate the enthusiasm and willing work of the comrades of New York and elsewhere, and I hope I will be able to subscribe some more money later on—during 1904.

Forward and ever forward, that should be our motto. Yes, forward and ever forward, in spite of the Fiebigers, and all others of his calibre, who will break their horns against the solid walls of the S. L. P. every time they "butt in."

I finish these few lines with kind regards and a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year to all the comrades.

J. Jurgis.

Seafarer, with headquarters in Frisco.

Eureka, Cal., December 22, 1903.

## VII.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In response to the appeal of the Peckskill comrade (who sent in his barrel of flour money) for help from sympathizers with, and readers of, The People, to lift the debt off the printing plant, I asked the fellows in my shop for a trifle. We are only eight in number, and, other than myself, none are avowed Socialists. Six of us usually read only French; therefore, under the circumstances, I am pleased with the result. They gave \$2.25 because The People is straight for the interest of the working class. Herewith please find money order for the amount. Wishing you a happy and successful New Year, I remain,

J. Holmes, a Sympathizer.

New York City, December 29, 1903.

## THE CAPITALIST.

(Written for The Daily People by J. K. G., Brooklyn, N. Y.)

From the toilers' sweat the idler came, From the workers' brow he robbed his fame,

From producers' hands his wealth he stole,

In Labor's tears he bathed his soul.

Eyes that were shining with bravery,

He darkened with cruel slaver,

Stifled true freedom that sought to rise,

And turned the laugh of the babe to sighs.

He turned the beauty of work to shame,

And set up greed as the highest aim.

The fetters of need he tore apart,

And wound them about the toiler's heart.

On the honor of women he set a price,

And filled the mind of the youth with vice;

Shattered the crown of equality

And raised high the whip of tyranny.

He broke the string of Cupid's bow,

And caused the seed of hate to grow.

The eyes of truth he pierced with greed;

The heart of love he filled with need.

O'er comforts of home he cast a pall,

And let the curtain of sorrow fall.

O'er the sun of peace he spread a cloud,

And true joy wrapped in scorn's black shroud.

Now as proud master he rules o'er all,

And bends them, slave-like, to his call,

'Neath the lash of want and the spurs of pain

The toilers drag his oppressing chain

That keeps them bound an idler's slave.

Nor leaves them till the open grave.

All this is done—all this, and more,

By the capitalist that LABOR bore.

But all are not bending with humble mien—

A band of workers may now be seen

Standing erect, with an aspect brave,

Teaching the Truth to each fellow-slave;

Calling to all, "Would you Freedom choose—

You've a world to gain and but chains to lose—

Join with the workers who fight to be Free,

And be one in the ranks of the S. L. P."

## LETTER-BOX OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

"WATCHMAN ON GUARD," OMAHA, NEB.—We are not informed whether Charley Martin or "Weeping Charley," the present assistant of the ex-fellowship William Mailly, is himself now, or ever was a fellowships. He may be now, or many have been before. He is just of the material for fellowships.

S. L. L. SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—Observe the case closely. This will be seen: There are people, otherwise very estimable, who, due to lack of sound information and backed by a certain temperament, imagine the Socialist Commonwealth will descend upon mankind like a pentecostal fire. All they deem necessary is to present it sweetly to people.

Now, these folks have a right to their views, and God speed them in their endeavors. The Socialist Labor Party tells them: "The world is wide, go your way, it is not ours!" Now to your question, Why is it that these folks, otherwise so gentle, become like hyenas and seek to rend the Party? For the very simple reason that Truth has a chemically permeating power. These folks do not believe the S. L. P. is right, but what they believe does not change facts. The Truth uttered by the S. L. P. chemically permeates the political and social atmosphere. That Truth makes havoc of illusions. Know you not that none is so violent as the superstitions, whose illusions are shaken? There, then, you have the folks that you refer to, and the secret of their malignity towards the S. L. P.

R. O'C., CLEVELAND, O.—In addition to the above, The "weak-kneed," as you term them, can not choose but be sore on The People, for the good and sufficient reason that it forces them to fight. Their motto is "Go ahead, and take it easy." This they cannot while The People is thundering away. The People interferes with their ease.

"OESTERREICHISCHER SOCIALIST," NEW YORK.—Your letter has been referred to the Cleveland "Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung," the German organ of the S. L. P. You will there find your answer.

F. B. J., LYNN, MASS.—I. One of the notices arrived too late for publication.

2. Editorial referred to shall be hunted up. Could you not locate the date more closely?

B. S., VANCOUVER, B. C.—Impossible to



## OFFICIAL

**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.**  
Kuhn, Secretary, 24 New Beade street, New York.  
**SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA.**  
National Secretary, C. A. Weitzel, 256 1/2 Dundas street, London, Ont.  
**NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMMITTEE.**  
24 New Beade street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)  
Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

## A CALL.

To the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party—Greeting:

In accordance with Article VII, Section 3, of the Party constitution, you are herewith called upon to make nominations for the place where the national convention of the Socialist Labor Party for 1904 is to be held. The nominations made must be reported to the undersigned not later than February 10, 1904, and will then be submitted to a general vote of the Party membership.

Organizers of Sections will please see to it that this call is read at the next regular meeting of their respective Sections, and that the nominations made are promptly reported to headquarters.

The Section being the unit of organization, each Section can nominate but one city. There is no need of reporting the vote cast; the simple statement that the Section places in nomination a certain city is sufficient.

For the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.  
New York, Jan. 2, 1904.

New York, Jan. 2, 1904.  
Secretaries of State Executive Committees, take notice!

Your attention is herewith called to Article VII, Sections 2 and 3, of the Party constitution, which read as follows:

Article VII, Section 2:

"The State shall be the basis of representation, each State to be entitled to one delegate for every one thousand S. L. P. votes cast at the State election preceding the National Convention, and to one additional delegate for a major fraction thereof. Any State having one or more Sections and polling less than one thousand votes, or polling no votes at all, shall be entitled to one delegate; a territory to be treated as a State."

Article VII, Section 3:

"The National Executive Committee shall call for nominations for the place of the convention in January of the convention year, and the State Executive Committee, in transmitting the call to the Sections, shall call for nominations for delegates, the nominations to be submitted to a general vote of the Sections (in each State), with instructions as to the number of candidates each member has a right to vote for."

The call for nominations of the convention city having been issued by the N. E. C., the State Executive Committees must be prepared to act in accordance with the foregoing provisions and properly prepare for the election of delegates to the National Convention.

For the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

## MASSACHUSETTS FAIR COMMITTEE.

Fourth meeting held December 23, Comrade D. Enger chairman. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read. Roll call showed present Comrades Callan, Engelheart, Young, Bohmbach, Sweeney, Hess, Gallagher and Berry, of the Socialist Labor Party, and Comrades Enger, Mrs. Enger, Anderson, Mrs. Anderson, Swanson, Peterson, Nelson and Gronorov, of the Scandinavian Socialist Club.

Correspondence from Massachusetts S. L. P. State Executive Committee secretary endorsed.

Committee to see Comrade Johnson reports that he will donate a chess table for the fair.

Report of Gallagher that Comrades of Lynn will give ten articles of the twenty to be offered at large, accepted.

Under report of Entertainment Committee, same was instructed to engage Dougherty's three pieces two nights, and his offer of one night was accepted.

Comrade Swanson was appointed to take charge of admission tickets.

Motion was carried that the officers, chairman, secretary and treasurer, with Comrades Gronorov and Young, act as the Executive Committee during the fair.

Committee reported having counted admission tickets, 2,063. Ordered to turn them over to Comrade Swanson.

Motion was made to reconsider graphophone in contest and let Section that donated it take charge of the same at their own table at the fair.

Moved to adjourn until Wednesday evening, January 6, 1904.

John Sweeney, Secretary,  
75 Prospect street, Cambridge, Mass.

## CLEVELAND (OHIO) LECTURES.

Section Cleveland, S. L. P., has arranged for the following lectures:  
Sunday, January 17—"Why American Workingmen Should Be Socialists." Speaker, J. Wettstein.

Sunday, February 7—"Evolution of Property." Speaker, John D. Goerke.

Sunday, February 21—"Attitude of the S. L. P. Towards Trades Unionism." Speaker, F. Seymour.

Sunday, March 6—"Effect of Machinery on the Working Class." Speaker, John Kireher.

These lectures take place at 3 p. m. at Section Hall, 356 Ontario street, top floor (German-American Bank Building). All workingmen and their friends and especially the readers of the Weekly People are cordially invited to attend. Admission free.

## CLEVELAND S. L. P. CONVENTION.

The city convention of the S. L. P. of Cleveland is called for Sunday, January 10, 1904, to meet at the Section's Hall, 356 Ontario street (German-American Bank Building), top floor, and will be called to order at 3 p. m. (suntine) sharp.

The principal business of this convention is to nominate candidates for the various public offices to be voted for at the principal election in April.

It is the duty of each and every comrade to attend. Sympathizers and adherents of the S. L. P. are cordially invited.

## BUFFALO LABOR LYCEUM.

A series of public lectures is now being held every Sunday at 3.15 p. m., under the auspices of the Labor Lyceum, in Florence Parlors, 527 Main, near Genesee street. Admission free to all.

Public Debate.

January 10.—Between Mr. Boris Reinstein and Attorney E. N. Heath.

Subject:

"Resolved: That no reform in our present Industrial System, but only the establishment of the Socialist Republic, can solve the Labor Problem."

January 17.—Mr. Orvus A. Curtis, on "Class-Consciousness."

January 24.—Attorney Thomas E. Boyd, on "Utopia—Yesterday and Tomorrow."

January 31.—Rev. L. M. Powers, on "Are We Civilized?"

## DETROIT, MICH., AGITATION MEETINGS.

Section Detroit, Mich., will hold agitation meetings at Minnabach's Hall, 273 Gratiot avenue, on the following Sunday afternoons, at 2.30 p. m., and extends an invitation to all to attend. Free discussion, open to all. The subjects and lecturers are:

January 10—"The Socialist Labor Party: Its Aim and Object." Speaker, Fred Uhlman.

January 17—"The Class Struggle." Speaker, Herman Richter.

January 24—"Can Pure and Simple Trade Unions Solve the Labor Problem?" Speaker, M. Meyer.

January 31—"Socialism vs. Capitalism." Speaker, George Hassler.

## EAST ST. LOUIS, ATTENTION.

Section East St. Louis will give a series of lectures at Launtz Hall, Fifth and Missouri avenues, every Sunday at 2.30 p. m.

On January 10, Comrade Philip Veal will speak on "The Strike at Cripple Creek."

## LYNN DISCUSSION MEETING.

The next regular discussion meeting of Section Lynn will be held in the new headquarters, 54 Central avenue, Friday evening, January 8, 1904. Subject: "Should the Socialist Labor Party Dominate the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance?"

All members should take notice and attend these meetings, and take part in the discussion.

Frank B. Jordan, Organizer.

## L. A. 252, S. T. &amp; L. A.

The last meeting of Local Alliance 252 was held on December 29 at 813 Park avenue, Brooklyn, with Comrade Louis T. Kunz in the chair and Comrade J. Martin acting as vice chairman. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read.

A communication from D. A. 49 was laid over for new business.

It was regularly moved and seconded to hold meetings hereafter on the second Monday of each month. The organizer was authorized to call special meetings if necessary. The secretary was instructed to forward the proceedings of each meeting to The People for publication.

The reports of organizer and delegates to D. A. 49 were accepted; also 10 tickets of Egg Candles' Union, L. A. 349, and 25 tickets to the grand ball and fair of D. A. 49. The comrades were urged to make this fair a success.

In regard to delegates to D. A. 49 organizer (H. Kober) was instructed to request the same to attend the district meetings properly or forward their resignations as delegates to L. A. 252.

After a lengthy discussion it was regularly moved and seconded that L. A. 252 contents that Comrade John A. Schwartz is a wage worker. The delegates to D. A. 49 were instructed to report so to the district.

In reply to the communication of D. A. 49, a committee of two, consisting of H. Kober and Fred Loehr, was elected to assist the fair committee at the New Year's eve ball in Everett's Hall, 33 East Fourth street, New York.

The financial secretary was instructed to communicate with delinquent members in order to make it possible to wipe out the debts of L. A. 252 to D. A. 49 before January 1, 1904.

Next meeting will be held on Monday, January 11, 8 p. m., at 813 Park avenue, Brooklyn.

Fred A. Loehr,  
Recording Secretary.

## TO MEMBERS D. A. 4, S. T. &amp; L. A.

In order to push the necessary work of organization 5,000 invitation cards for alliance meetings have been ordered. All members who recognize the truth of our social conditions, being simply a reflect of economic conditions, will put their shoulder to the wheel and distribute in shop, factories, etc. Great work can be done during the next six months before the political campaign is on.

The district calls on all workers to help. Others won't, as the capitalist system could not get along without them.

A. J. Boland, Organizer.

## THE DAILY PEOPLE HOME-STRETCH FUND.

UNDER THIS HEAD WILL BE PUBLISHED ALL DONATIONS MADE FOR THE LAST FINAL EFFORT TO CLEAR UP THE BALANCE OF THE DEBT ON THE DAILY PEOPLE PRINTING PLANT. THAT BALANCE, ON NOVEMBER 15, WAS \$4,543, PLUS INTEREST. WATCH AND SEE HOW THE FIGURES OF THE "HOME-STRETCH FUND" GET UP TO IT.

Previously acknowledged.....\$1,898.05

Excelsior Literary Society, City.....5.00

C. Merquelin, Bayonne, N. J.....3.00

F. Metzger, Paducah, Ky.....3.00

J. Williams, Paducah, Ky.....3.00

C. Grimm, Paducah, Ky.....2.00

E. Romary, Paterson, N. J.....3.00

J. C. Halliday, East St. Louis, Ill.....3.00

George Anderson, Salinas, Cal.....3.00

H. Ulbrich, Saginaw, Mich.....3.00

Louis Kuntz, Brooklyn, N. Y.....1.00

W. T. Welch, Roanoke, Va.....3.00

H. D. McTier, Roanoke, Va.....3.00

B. D. Downey, Roanoke, Va.....3.00

J. McTier, Roanoke, Va.....3.00

M. Sassimovsky, Philadelphia, Pa.....1.00

A. Lundberg, Providence, R. I......50

O. Bartel, City.....3.00

W. Moore, City.....2.00

L. Newman, City.....3.00

N. Zolinsky, City.....1.00

W. W. Evans, Salt Lake City, Utah.....5.00

J. J. Holm, Burnett, Minn.....3.00

E. Moonellis, City.....1.00

F. Wardenberg, City.....3.00

"O. K." Reading, Pa.....5.00

H. K. Reading, Pa......25

A. Anderson, Brooklyn, N. Y.....3.00

P. Janke, Indianapolis, Ind.....3.00

W. Retterer, Indianapolis, Ind.....3.00

S. Hutchinson, Grand Junction, Col.....5.00

S. L. P., Grand Junction, Col.....5.00

J. O. Billings, Grand Jet., Col.....5.00

N. S. Johnson, Grand Jet., Col.....3.00

M. H. Jones, Grand Jet., Col.....2.00

J. Connell, Grand Jet., Col.....1.50

Mrs. S. B. Hutchinson, Grand Jet., Col.....1.00

J. B. Glsburg, Grand Jet., Col.....1.00

J. C. Kucera, Grand Jet., Col.....1.00

W. H. Burkhardt, Grand Jet., Col......50

J. M. Sellars, Grand Jet., Col......50

E. Coulton, Grand Jet., Col......50

J. Andereg, South Bound Brook, N. J.....1.00

C. Schmidt, Lohm, Tex.....3.00

A. Orange, City.....1.00

E. Kuelman, St. Paul, Minn.....5.00

L. Gluckman, New York, N. Y.....2.00

N. Trochman, New York, N. Y.....20.00

W. Selkovich, New York, N. Y.....1.00

J. Holmes and friends, New York, N. Y.....2.55

William Riesenber, Chicago, Ill.....3.00

J. Hamerli, Chicago, Ill.....3.00

T. Kracknabuckl, Chicago, Ill.....2.00

J. A. Jones, Norfolk, Va.....1.00

C. L. Johnson, Ymir, B. C.....3.00

J. Jurgis, Eureka, Cal.....5.00

Section Richmond, Va.....5.00

D. R. Munro, Oneonta, N. Y.....1.00

P. T. New York, N. Y.....3.00

J. Plomondon, New York, N. Y.....1.00

W. Herman, Lincoln, Neb.....3.00

F. Herman, Lincoln, Neb.....3.00

H. Santee, New York, N. Y.....1.00

T. Edgington, New York, N. Y.....2.00

F. B. Sullivan, New York, N. Y.....1.00

J. Slavin, New York, N. Y.....1.00

C. Brenner, Mobile, Ala.....3.00

L. Lacoste, New Orleans, La......25

C. Zolot, Peekskill, N. Y.....1.00

A. Gernal, Sarina, Ont.....3.00

Brown & Foster, North Adams, Mass.....5.00

C. Lambert, Seattle, Wash.....2.00

F. Meier, Seattle, Wash.....3.00

Dr. S. J. Stewart, Seattle, Wash.....1.00

E. Hinckelmann, Seattle, Wash.....3.00

W. Blank, Seattle, Wash.....3.00

W. Beavis, Seattle, Wash.....10.00

A. Anderson, Seattle, Wash.....3.00

J. Hodge, Seattle, Wash.....2.50

F. Crossman, Seattle, Wash.....2.50

J. J. Corcoran, Albany, N. Y.....5.00

C. Mahr, Albany, N. Y.....1.00

M. Wiesinger, Albany, N. Y.....1.00

H. Hirschfeld, Albany, N. Y.....3.00

E. A. Norris, Albany, N. Y.....3.00

G. Brodbeck, Albany, N. Y.....1.00

J. Schmidt (1), Albany, N. Y.....1.00

J. Schmidt (2), Albany, N. Y.....1.00

L. Friedrich, Albany, N. Y.....1.00

A. Mongarelli, Albany, N. Y.....2.00

H. Schrader, Albany, N. Y.....3.00

G. J. Vink, Sympathizer, Albany, N. Y......50

I. Rosenblatt, Tarrytown, N. Y.....5.00

H. Sale, Chicago, Ill.....5.00

Section Belleville, Ill.....25.00

Section Troy, New York, from lecture held December 13.....40.35

V. W. Smith, Troy, N. Y.....5.00

N. S. Burnham, Troy, N. Y.....3.00

R. C. Johnson, Troy, N. Y.....2.00

Robert Hood, Minden Mines, Mo.....2.00

A. S. Dowler, Finlay, Tex.....5.00

W. Swenson, Treadwell, Alaska.....10.00

J. Sanderson, Brawley, Cal.....5.00

C. J. Troy, Yonkers, N. Y.....5.00

J. A. Arne, Yonkers, N. Y.....3.00

S. Fischman, Yonkers, N. Y.....3.00

R. W. Gaffney, Yonkers, N. Y.....3.00

O. Carragher, Yonkers, N. Y.....3.00

A. Swanson, Yonkers, N. Y.....3.00

F. Baird, Yonkers, N. Y.....3.00

J. Fischman, Yonkers, N. Y.....1.00

H. Jones, Yonkers, N. Y.....1.00

A. Stieglitz, Yonkers, N. Y.....2.00

Section Madison County, Illinois, on account.....16.00

T. Maxwell, London, Canada.....3.00

F. Haselgrove, London, Canada.....1.00

W. Forbes, London, Canada.....1.00

G. L. Bryce, London, Canada.....1.00

C. A. Weitzel, London, Canada.....1.00

J. Pearce, London, Canada......25

D. Ross, London, Canada.....3.00

A. Wehr, London, Canada......25

J. Craig, London, Canada......25

A. Maddison, London, Canada......25

C. Nichol, London, Canada......25

I. Courtenay, London, Canada.....1.00

F. J. Darch, London, Canada.....1.00

Mrs. G. Bryce, London, Canada......50

T. H. Humphrey, St. Thomas, Canada......25

F. Bergstrom, Minneapolis, Minn.....3.00

M. Overby, Minneapolis, Minn.....3.00

G. Nickerson, Minneapolis, Minn.....5.00

W. Foy, Minneapolis, Minn.....3.00

D. Lyons, Minneapolis, Minn.....3.00

M. Carlson, Minneapolis, Minn.....3.00

H. Edwards, Minneapolis, Minn.....3.00

B. Frankford, Minneapolis, Minn.....3.00

A. B. Lafreniere, Moosup, Conn.....2.00

N. Fulk, Paducah, Ky.....1.00